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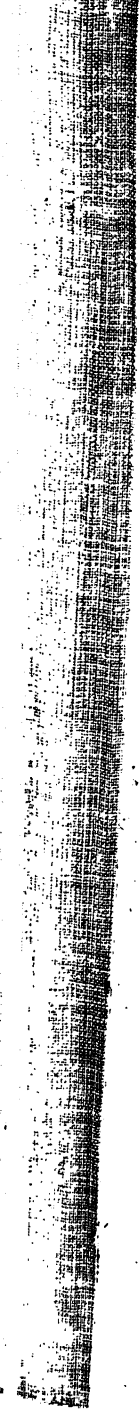


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A
SHORT
HISTORY OF SPAIN.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

J. Callcott

A

SHORT
HISTORY OF SPAIN.

BY

MARIA CALLCOTT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

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HISTORY OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALONZO XI., A. D. 1312,
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Lady and gentleman of Castile with Moorish girl.

No sooner was Ferdinand dead, than his brother don Pedro, who had accompanied him to Jaen, caused the infant Alonzo, then little more than twelve months old, to be proclaimed. The lady

appointed for his nurse was donna Theodora Lascaris, the granddaughter of the Greek emperor Theodore Lascaris. She then resided with her young charge at Avila, and placed herself with the king, under the protection of the bishop don Sancho, who lodged them in the cathedral, and there, with the men of Avila, defended them against two opposite factions, who each endeavoured to get possession of the king's person, as a means of ruling the kingdom. Don John, the king's great uncle, together with Juan de Lara, demanded him in the name of his grandmother donna Maria, who, however, seems to have taken no part in their projects; don Pedro, the king's uncle, demanded him in right of his mother donna Costanza, or Constance, who appears not to have been very popular, for the people were anxious that the regency should be placed in the hands of don Pedro and donna Maria. The bishop, however, refused to give up Alonzo, until the cortes of the kingdom should be assembled and pronounce between the parties. The disputes on this head, which continued above a year, had nearly assumed the aspect of a civil war, when the death of donna Costanza removed one pretender to the regency; and shortly afterwards the cortes met at Valladolid, and committed the education of the king and the care of his person to his grandmother donna Maria, and appointed don Juan and don Pedro, Alonzo's uncle and great uncle, to the regency of the kingdom.

Maria immediately removed her grandson to Toro, a strong place, where the air was pure and the country around healthy. Don Pedro undertook to defend the southern provinces against the Moors, and don John governed almost despotically the rest of the kingdom.

While the Castilians were engaged in domestic quarrels, a band of the Catalans who had accompanied the princes of Arragon in their Sicilian wars had gone to the assistance of the Greek emperor, whose estates had been threatened by a new and terrible enemy. The Turks, who derived their origin from the interior of Asia, had embraced the Mahomedan faith. Under the conduct of a warlike family, which took its name from its founder Othman, or, as the Europeans call him, Ottoman, they had overrun great part of western Asia, and now threatened to pass into Europe, and attack Constantinople itself. The emperor Andronicus applied for aid to every Christian power, but all were too intent on their own private interests to afford him any essential help. He was therefore glad to engage the assistance of any adventurers who might be at liberty to sell their services. Among these was the Catalan captain, Roger of Brindisi, whose father Ricardo Floro was killed at the battle of Manfredonio. Roger himself had been a knight templar, and had afterwards served Frederic of Arragon in his Sicilian wars. On the establishment of peace between the courts of

Naples and Palermo, Roger and the Catalans had collected several vessels, with which they made piratical expeditions to all the Moorish settlements which they dared attack, and were not quite free from the suspicion of sometimes robbing their fellow Christians. These men were peculiarly fitted for opposing the Turkish incursions, and on their arrival at Constantinople the emperor received them with great honours, and bestowed titles and presents with the hand of his niece in marriage on Roger, and gave him the command of an army chiefly composed of foreign adventurers, then on the point of embarking for Asia Minor. He was eminently successful: the Turks were defeated in three pitched battles, of which that of the Iron Gates of Mount Taurus was most destructive to them, and most profitable to the victors, who took an immense booty. Roger was soon afterwards joined by his friend and countryman Berenger Entenza, with three hundred horsemen and a thousand Catalan infantry, and their united services might, perhaps, have proved an essential security to the empire of the East. But the Greeks became jealous of their popularity, and possibly the insolence of the foreign soldiers had given just offence. However that might be, the emperor resolved on their destruction, and under pretence of consulting Roger upon some important affairs, he sent for him to Adrianople, where he had him murdered, without regard to his great services, or the family ties that

should have bound him to the husband of his niece.

But this crime did not remain unpunished: Berenger Entenza, who with the Catalans lay in winter quarters at Gallipoli, no sooner heard of the death of Roger, than he marched to Constantinople, wasting the country as he advanced, and burning the farms and country houses. Calojohn, the son of the emperor, went out of the city to meet him, but was defeated and driven back, and the Catalans seemed on the point of gaining the capital itself. But just at that time a fleet from Genoa, commanded by Edward Doria, arrived: under pretence of friendship, Doria induced the Catalans to join his troops, when he surrounded them and took them, with Berenger Entenza at their head. That chief being afterwards set free returned to Spain, where he sold his estates, and with the money raised troops to revenge himself on Andronicus and the Genoese. But on his return to Greece, Rocaforte, who had succeeded him at Gallipoli, refused to submit to his authority; and the disputes between them ran so high, that their sovereign, Frederic of Sicily, despatched his cousin don Ferdinand of Mallorca to endeavour to reconcile them, but in vain. Entenza was killed in a skirmish between his people and those of Rocaforte; and the remnant of the Catalan army, which had been thus wasted by the misconduct of its commanders, joined Walter de Brienne, duke of Athens, and Rocaforte perished

in prison in Naples, whither he had been treacherously conveyed by the French, and given into the hands of his inveterate enemy king Robert.

On the death of Walter, the Catalans seized Athens, and committed great ravages both on the town and country, in the name of Frederic of Sicily, on whom they bestowed the title of duke. Hence the kings of Arragon assumed, as kings of Sicily, the style of dukes of Athens and Neopatria.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Grenada had undergone various revolutions. Muhammed the Blind had been deposed by his brother Nazar in the year 1308, under pretence that his infirmity rendered him unfit for government. He had from that time lived a retired life in one of the country palaces, where his great delight was walking in the gardens and conversing with learned men or poets: one day that he was crossing the gardens alone, he fell into an ornamental lake and was drowned. The pompous epitaph inscribed on his tomb forms a strange contrast with the forced tranquillity of the latter years of his life; but the virtues it ascribed to him were real, and had ensured him the esteem even of his enemies.

Had Nazar not been an usurper he would have deserved to reign. Fond of peace, he yet distinguished himself in war, and loved and protected learning. He was handsome, liberal, and courteous. On the death of Ferdinand IV., he sent to the infant Pedro of Castile to propose a treaty between

Grenada and Castile, which was eagerly concluded by Pedro, as the domestic troubles concerning the regency rendered it peculiarly desirable to secure peace on the Moorish frontier.

But the good and great qualities of Nazar could not save the kingdom from rebellion. The conduct of some of his ministers had been peculiarly odious, and had given discontent to many of the noble families of Grenada. The governor of Malaga, who was the king's brother-in-law, encouraged the discontented chiefs, among whom was his own son Abu Walid, also called Abu Said Ismael. Nazar was soon besieged in the Alhambra, whence he sent to demand succours from don Pedro of Castile, who was then at Cordova. But although that prince immediately set out to his assistance, he was too late: the Alhambra was forced, and Nazar dethroned. His brother-in-law assigned him the city of Cadiz and its dependencies as a residence, and thither he immediately retired, and sought in the cultivation of letters consolation for the loss of empire. He appears to have been unmolested, either by his own ambition or that of others, until his death, which happened in the year 1322. His nephew caused his body to be transported to Grenada, where he had it sumptuously interred.

Meanwhile Ismael had not reigned idly. His character had harsher features than any of those of his family who had preceded him on the throne. His bigotry, his persecuting spirit, which induced

him to lay so exorbitant a tax on the Jews that many of them were forced to leave his dominions, and the severity of his discipline, made his subjects rather fear than love him; but his activity and diligence prevented the evil effects that might have arisen from that disposition. He resolved to renew the war with the Christians, in order to occupy the martial nobles of Grenada; and accordingly, in 1316, having news of a great convoy of provisions that was on the way to Cadiz for the use of Nazar, escorted by a large body of the troops of don Pedro, whose friendship for the dethroned monarch still subsisted, Ismael attacked it, but without success. An obstinate battle ensued: fifteen hundred Moors were slain, and the Christians lost nearly as many men, but the latter remained masters of the field. This battle the Moors called the day of Fortuna. The success of his arms induced don Pedro to prosecute the war at this time, and he took several strong forts on the frontiers of Grenada; the last was Tiscar, which was most obstinately defended, and at length yielded on very honourable conditions. But Ismael was filled with grief and rage at seeing the Mahomedan power thus gradually sinking.

On the morning of Saint John's day, in the year 1319, the Christian skirmishers appeared in sight even of the walls of the Alhambra. Ismael called his knights together, and reproached them with their indolent luxury, which led them to look on with

apathy, while the enemies of their faith were wasting their lands, and insulting the very walls of their capital. His exhortations produced the effect he desired. All the youth in Grenada armed, and joined the king's standard: among the chiefs was the Parsee Mahragian, who led to victory wherever he turned. The combat was obstinate, but at length the Christians gave way. Don John and don Pedro were among the slain. The body of the latter was carried off by his people, but their retreat was too precipitate to allow them to search for that of don John, which was found by the Moors when they were burying the dead, and sent by them to his kinsman at Cordova, wrapped in fine linen, and enclosed in a costly chest filled with perfumes and covered with scarlet and gold.

The Mussulmans who fell were buried in their war garments with their arms. The Christians were stripped, and the plunder of the field and of the camp well rewarded the conquerors, who entered Grenada in triumph, and celebrated their victory with feasts and tournaments in the city; while, in the field, it was followed up by the recovery of almost all the fortresses they had lost during the two preceding years.

But Ismael was sensible that peace was necessary to recover the loss which even his victory had occasioned, and he accordingly concluded a truce of three years with Castile.

The death of the two regents don John and don

Pedro had again plunged the kingdom into a civil war for the regency; and every evil was aggravated by the death of the queen, donna Maria, whose prudence during her husband's life, and the two minorities that had occurred since his death, had softened many of the ills attendant on civil discord, and had so endeared her to her subjects, that they mourned for her more as a mother than as a queen.

Meanwhile, don Jayme of Arragon was called upon to assist the Sardinians, who were discontented with the Pisans, at that time masters of the island, but he gave no answer to the envoys, until he had laid the affair before the cortes. That assembly approving of the enterprise advanced money to equip an armament, which under the prince don Alonzo sailed for Sardinia in 1323. The prince's success was ensured by the natives, who hated the Pisans, and he no sooner appeared on the coast than the principal towns surrendered. The Pisans then opened a negotiation with Arragon, by which they agreed to do homage for such places as they retained, saving the sovereignty of the holy see; and peace was accordingly concluded on these conditions. But it soon appeared that the nobles of Pisa had resolved to punish the Sardinians for their rebellion; and their oppressions only became the heavier, so that the forces of Arragon were again called in, and the Pisans finally expelled.

The kingdom of Arragon itself was maintained by the skill of Jayme II. in a state of tolerable quiet; but the powerful families who exercised the right of private war kept the king always in a state of alarm for the general tranquillity.

In the year 1324, Alonzo XI. of Castile having attained his fourteenth year, the cortes assembled at Valladolid thought it proper that he should take on himself the government of the kingdom. The chief movers of this revolution were Garci Lasso de la Vega and Alvar Nunez Osorio, assisted by don Yusef, a Jew of great wealth and authority, who furnished money for the establishment of the young king's household and court, the royal treasury having been completely drained during the late civil commotions. But the princes don Manuel and don John the Crooked opposed the emancipation of the king, and made a solemn league and covenant, in which they were joined by many others, against Garci Lasso and Osorio. Their meeting took place at Cigales, where, according to the ancient customs of Spain, they took the oath of confederacy, one of the number standing forward in the name of the others, and saying, "I swear, in the name of God omnipotent, and of the most glorious Virgin, that all that is contained and declared in the instrument before us, drawn up in their holy names, shall be accomplished by every one of us without

fraud or deceit. That we shall not go one without the other against our enemies, nor in any guise contravene what has been agreed upon. And if any one shall knowingly break this covenant, may the Almighty take away his life in this world, and torment his soul with cruel and everlasting pain: may his limbs and his tongue fail: in the day of battle may his horse and his armour and his spurs be wanting to him; and may his vassals desert him in the day of his need." The others present then answered "Amen;" and it was not uncommon to take the sacrament on the occasion.

This covenant of the princes alarmed the other grandees, as they feared it might lead to a renewal of the civil wars of the kingdom; they therefore obtained the king's permission to propose a marriage between him and Blanche, the daughter of don John Manuel, in hopes of detaching that nobleman from the confederacy. He fell into the snare, and intrusted Blanche, though then but an infant, to the king's party. The other don John, who had intended to marry don John Manuel's daughter himself, was grievously disappointed; and determined to become a suitor to Blanche, daughter of the infant don Henrique, who fell at the battle of Grenada. Her great riches and the number of her vassals induced him to desire the marriage. But the king's advisers, under pretence that the princess was incapable of governing her

affairs, caused her to be spoiled of her inheritance, which, besides the towns of Almacen and Alcocer, with their dependent castles and villages, consisted of great sums in gold and jewels; but she and her mother retired to Arragon for protection, dreading farther injustice. The same counsellors now prevailed on the king to demand an account of the expenditure of the state from the archbishop of Toledo, who had been treasurer during the minority; and also to deprive him of the office of great chancellor, which had been attached to the see for many centuries. That high dignity was now conferred on Garci Lasso, in whose hands it lost much of its splendour; and from whose time it gradually declined. The archbishop retired in disgust, and exchanged sees with Ximenes, bishop of Taragon, the difference in rank being made up to him by the titular dignity of patriarch of Alexandria. The office of treasurer was conferred on the Jew, don Yusef, and the party of Osorio, and Garci Lasso became all-powerful in the kingdom.

The cortes of Arragon were assembled at Zaragoza in the course of the next year, on the following occasion. While don Alonzo the heir apparent of Arragon was absent with the army of Sardinia, don Pedro his younger brother had begun to intrigue with the grandees, to procure their consent to his assumption of the crown, in case of Alonzo's death during his father's lifetime, in preference to his children, alleging the example of Sancho

of Castile. But on Alonzo's return from the island, he prevailed on his father to assemble the cortes, and to declare his children to be the rightful heirs. That affair being settled, the cortes next proceeded to other business. The progress of the power of the inquisition had alarmed the nobles and the magistrates of the kingdom. Bernard Piquarcos, the inquisitor-general of the kingdom, was resolved to place his tribunal above those of the king, and had introduced modes of examination and species of punishment unknown to its ancient customs. Many of the king's subjects had been banished, several had been burnt, those arrested on suspicion or on false information had endured at least a long imprisonment, and in the very year in which the cortes had now met, the friar Arnold Burguete had caused Pierre Durand de Balzac to be burned before the king and his sons, two bishops being also present.

In order to put some check to these proceedings, the cortes passed a law abolishing torture, and forbidding it on any pretence to be used within the realm of Arragon; and it should be remarked, that this was the first country in Europe where it was formally put down. It was no more publicly used, but there is no doubt that in the dungeons of the inquisition in Arragon it continued to be practised on the unhappy victims of that tribunal.

The death of don Jayme II. of Arragon, two years after the holding these cortes, left don Alonzo IV. in tranquil possession of the crown: Jayme had passed a law during his reign, that, for the greater security of the kingdom, neither the provinces of Catalonia nor Valencia should ever be separated from it. He was a wise and just prince, much beloved by his subjects, and respected by the neighbouring monarchs. By donna Blanche, his first wife, he left Jayme, who renounced the throne from religious motives, and became grand-master of Calatrava, and Alonzo who succeeded him; by Mary, daughter of Hugh III. king of Cyprus, he left Peter, Raymond, John, and several daughters, who all married nobly.

Shortly after the death of Jayme of Arragon, that of Charles the Handsome, king of France, without heirs male, once more separated Navarre from that kingdom. In the disputes which arose on the death of Charles, and which produced ultimately the long wars between England and France, the right to the crown of Navarre was immediately recognised as belonging to Joan, daughter of Louis Hutin and niece of Charles. She and her husband, Philip of Evreux, therefore repaired directly to Pampeluna, where they were crowned, after having sworn to observe certain conditions, upon which only the states of Navarre consented to take the oath of allegiance to them. The most remarkable of these conditions were, that they should coin

money only once during their reign ; to intrust the command of the towns and garrisons only to Navarrese gentlemen ; neither to pawn nor to alienate the royal domain ; to resign the government to their eldest son as soon as he should have attained the age of twenty ; and to confirm the right of their subjects to depose them, should they fail in any of the former conditions.

Meantime the truce which the regents of Castile had concluded with the king of Grenada had long expired, and Ismael, aware of the civil commotions in which his enemies were engaged, resolved to improve the occasion, and accordingly entered their territory and besieged the town of Baza in 1325. The Moorish historians on this occasion describe machines of offence, which must be cannon, though the first use recorded of them among the Christian nations of Europe was twenty years later, at the battle of Cressy, 1344. The words of the Moorish writer are, " He battered the city day and night with machines and engines, which projected globes of fire with great explosions, in all respects like the thunder and lightning of the tempests, and they made great havoc in the walls and towers of the city."

The city was taken, and the greater number of the inhabitants carried away captive. Among them was a beautiful damsel, whom Muhammed Aben Ismael, the king's cousin, saved at the risk of his life from the brutal soldiers who were about to

murder her. Unfortunately the king saw her, and instantly had her seized and carried to his harem. Muhammed determined from that moment on revenge; and in the midst of the rejoicings in the capital on account of the taking of Baza, Ismael was stabbed by him and a number of young knights, his companions, who went with him in a body to the Alhambra and requested to see the king; he, with his first minister, came out to meet them, when they were both despatched by the daggers of the young men, who instantly made their escape.

The king was conveyed into his mother's apartment, and his wounds were bound up. They were mortal; but in order to prevent disorder, the attendants were informed that Ismael was resting, and a meeting of the principal nobility was called, as if by his orders, to perform the ceremony of swearing fidelity to his son Muley Muhammed. The assembly accordingly took place, and the oath of allegiance to Muley was administered; immediately after which, the king's death was announced, when the knights voluntarily repeated their oath, and the young king was proclaimed.

Ismael was much regretted; for excepting the arbitrary act which caused his death, he was a just and benevolent man. He had much improved the police of his kingdom; was careful to provide a sufficient store of corn and other provisions for the necessities of the people, and embellished the city

with magnificent buildings, fountains, and gardens. The intervals of business were usually spent by him in hawking, hunting, or in chivalrous exercises and games, in which he excelled.

Muley Muhammed was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his father: the regents of the kingdom during his minority were the vizier Abul Hasan ben Masud, shortly succeeded by Almahruc, and the captain of the Algarve cavalry, Othman. The latter began to fulfil the duties of his office by an incursion into the territories of the king of Castile; but the haughtiness and tyranny of Almahruc soon disgusted him and many other nobles of Grenada, and they left the kingdom, some seeking service in foreign courts. But Othman resolving to be revenged on the vizier, and careless of his duty to the king, incited the uncle of Muley, who was then at Telecen in Africa, to invade the kingdom, and sent his son Ibrahim to invite the Sevillians to join him in making war on his country. The Africans lost no time in passing the straits; they soon took possession of Algeziras, Marbelia, and Ronda.

On the other hand, Muley Muhammed, who had by that time assumed the government, made a successful campaign against the Castilians, and took Capra and the castle of Priega, and laid siege to Baena. The besieged despised the scanty army that was brought against them, and often sallied out to defy them. On one occasion, a Christian

cavalier had approached too near the king, who threw his lance ornamented with gold and jewels at him. As he was riding off with it, some of the Moors prepared to follow him and bring it back, but Muley forbade them, saying, "if he does not die of the wound, the price of the weapon will pay for its cure." The town shortly afterwards surrendered, and Muley Muhammed proceeded towards Gibraltar, which he had learned was in a very unguarded state, and which he gained after a short siege. On his way thither, he took possession of Ronda, Marbalia, and Algeziras, which the Beni Merines from Africa had seized so short a time before. In return, while the king of Grenada was occupied in Andalusia, where the Christians had assembled in considerable force to oppose him, Abul Hassan, called Alboacem by the Spanish writers, the new king of Fez, passed the straits and entered Gibraltar, as a place that belonged to him of right.

Although Muhammed was deeply offended at this, yet when the Castilian army besieged Abul Hassan, he assembled his Grenadian horse, and attacking the Christian camp, raised the siege, and sent provisions into the garrison. But in the imprudent joy of his success he taunted the Africans, and said the Castilian knights had indeed been courteous to their countrymen of Grenada; they had broken their lances like gentlemen with them, and left to them the honour of the field, to give them time

to relieve the hungry Africans. But these jests offended the men of Fez; and they caused him to be murdered, as he was riding up the rock with a few attendants to visit Abul Hassan.

As soon as his death was known in Grenada, his brother Yusef Abu Hegiaz was proclaimed by the nobles in the city, and Yusef himself being in the camp, the troops flocked to his tent, where they took the oath of allegiance, and he immediately proceeded to his capital. His first object was to secure peace, and he accordingly made a truce with Castile for four years, and applied himself diligently to reforming the laws and civil customs of the kingdom, which had become exceedingly corrupt. He created new honours and distinctions for the reward of such as served the state faithfully; he caused rules and directions to be written for all public offices and professions, besides books of the art of war, comprehending stratagems, feints, and the rules of fortification, for the benefit of his captains.

Meanwhile the crown of Castile had made some important acquisitions. There was one part of Biscay, the province of Alava, which had always been independent, and which, though occasionally claimed by the various petty sovereigns surrounding it, had preserved its ancient customs and habits, and acknowledged no authority but that of the chiefs of families and clans who had their own petty wars and alliances. At length, tired of the

irregular authority of these chiefs, they resolved to unite themselves to Castile, and sent messengers accordingly to Alonzo to propose terms of union rather than submission. He accordingly went in person to receive their homage, and in the plain of Arriaga, where from time immemorial they had held their councils and courts of justice, they swore fealty to him, and gave into the hands of a king that liberty they had preserved inviolable for ages. He in return promised that they should always be governed by the constitutions of Calatrava, the most ancient of the Gothic codes of law in Spain; and confirmed their customs, granting them certain privileges, which they have enjoyed to these days.

Shortly afterwards, other Biscayan districts and towns, many of which had belonged to the families of Lara and Haro, also submitted to Alonzo at a general meeting held at Guernica, where, under a very ancient tree, as was the custom of Biscay, the king himself sat to receive their oaths of fidelity.

Alonzo XI. felt that it had become necessary to curb in some degree the pride and power of those ancient nobles, whose extensive possessions, riches, number of vassals, and great alliances, rendered them more like independent princes than subjects in the state. Hence he was eager, before he turned his arms against the Moors, to secure his Biscayan acquisitions, and to remove the grandees that were most obnoxious; the means he adopted for this end were culpable. Don John the Crooked was trea-

cherously murdered at Toro, whither he had gone on the invitation, and under the safe-conduct of the king. Don John de Haro was beheaded, and it was believed that don John Manuel only escaped the same fate by refusing to accept the invitation of Alonzo, and fortifying himself in Chinchilla. This apparent contumacy enraged the king, so that he repudiated Constance the daughter of John Manuel, and married donna Maria the daughter of don Affonso, king of Portugal. Juan Manuel, on this affront, sent his heralds at arms to defy the king, to throw off his allegiance, and to separate himself from Castile; after which he joined the king of Arragon, and intrigued with the Moors of Grenada to avenge his cause.

The severities exercised against the ancient nobles gained for Alonzo the title of the Avenger; and it would have been well if he had been content with his triumphs over them, without raising new favourites in their stead, who, not possessing the confidence that a long habit of mutual service and protection had naturally produced between the ancient lords and their vassals, became the more odious to the people, as they presumed to take on them the state and powers of the old grandees.

Garci Lasso was the first who suffered for the favour of the king. He was murdered at Soria, whither he had been sent with a company of knights to raise troops to act against John Ma-

nel. This was the signal for rebellion in some of the principal cities. Valladolid, Toro, Zamora, and others took up arms. All the horrors of civil war began, the pretence for which was the inordinate favour bestowed on Núñez de Osorio, who had, to the great scandal of the ancient nobility, been created count of Trastamara, and the severity with which the king punished the rebels who fell into his hands.

But the war with the Moors was now raging with fury: fresh troops arrived from Africa; the regent of Navarre, assisted by Gaston count of Foix, entered the northern part of the kingdom, and Portugal began to threaten the western frontier. Alonzo made every effort to procure peace within his kingdom, but in vain. The treachery employed against don John the Crooked had filled the other nobles with distrust; and had the La Cerdas then been at the head of any considerable party, it is probable they might have superseded Alonzo on the throne. But their friends and partisans had long fallen off one by one; and at this critical moment in the affairs of Castile, the submission of don Fernando de la Cerda, surnamed the Disinherited, was of material service to the kingdom. The death of Muley Muhammed, king of Grenada, and the accession of Yusef, proved also favourable, as Yusef immediately sent to Alonzo to treat of peace, which was granted on very favourable terms for the Moors. A rebellion

in Africa caused the father of Abul Hassan to recall him shortly afterwards; so that Castile being delivered from the most pressing of its external dangers, the king was enabled to turn his arms against his rebellious subjects. He was every where successful: in Castile, in Andalusia, and in Biscay, he took possession of several towns, which had belonged to them; many others yielded voluntarily, and in the beginning of the year 1335, don John Manuel, the most obstinate of the insurgents, sought a reconciliation with the king; and peace being established both within and without, a great and solemn festival was held, at which the knights of a new order, called that of the riband, maintained a tournament against all other knights whatever. But these rejoicings were hardly at an end, when some disturbance arose in a new quarter. Donna Blanca of Castile had been betrothed to Pedro, the eldest son of Affonso, king of Portugal, and had long been under the care of that prince and his wife, by whom she was brought up with the utmost tenderness; but as she advanced in years, it appeared that she was an idiot, and as weak in her bodily constitution as in her mental capacity. Pedro had therefore resolved to send her back to Castile, and had entered into a negotiation with don Juan Manuel for his daughter Constance, who had formerly been betrothed to Alonzo, king of Castile. The latter prince resented the rejection of donna

Blanca, and also the demand of Constance; and not only remonstrated against the whole transaction, but refused his consent to the marriage. The consequence was a war between the two countries; in which the success was various, and upon the whole equal on the frontiers. But at sea, the Castilians gained a decided victory off Lisbon, when their admiral Geoffry Tenorio took the ship which bore the royal standard of Portugal, commanded by the Genoese captain Pecano, who had however, early in the action, destroyed two of the Castilian vessels.

The victorious admiral was received in triumph at Seville by the king; and this naval success would probably have induced him to continue the war, but for news that arrived from Africa.

Ali Abul Hassan ben Othman ben Jacob ben Abdelhac Beniotterini, whom the Christians called Abomalic, had prepared a great armament which was intended for the coast of Spain, and although the fleet of Castile had been sufficient to cope with that of Portugal, it was by no means equal to opposing that of the powerful lord of Fez. Alonzo therefore resolved to make a truce with the Portuguese, and if possible to bring over the king of Arragon to his assistance, against the threatened invasion of the Moors.

On the death of Alonzo IV. of Arragon, his son Peter IV. by his first marriage succeeded him. Some disputes arose on the coronation, when the

bishop of Zaragoza claimed the right of placing the crown on the king's head. But Peter, in order to show that the church had no part in conferring the kingdom on him, took the crown off the altar, and placed it on his own head; but he went to Avignon to do homage to pope Benedict XII. for the island of Sardinia: having duly received that of the king of Mallorca, whom however he shortly afterwards dethroned, and annexed his estates, both in the islands and beyond the Pyrenees, to Arragon.

Another cause of contention also occurred in the beginning of his reign. Eleanor of Castile, the second wife of his father, had prevailed on her husband, before his death, to endow her and her children with so large a portion of the kingdom, that its resources were thereby very much weakened. Peter, therefore, with the sanction of the grandees, resumed great part of the territory assigned to Eleanor, who appealed to her brother the king of Castile, and a war between the two kingdoms was the consequence. It was not however carried on with much vigour; for both monarchs had now become extremely anxious on account of the reports from Africa.

It was said that a general call had been issued throughout the provinces of Barbary, Fez, and Marocco, to take up arms and reconquer Spain, and that the wives and families of the soldiers were assembling to follow them, as soon as they

should have secured a footing in the country. Valencia was to be the first point of attack, and the possession of Algeziras, Gibraltar, and other ports on that part of the coast, rendered the landing there secure. A petition was immediately sent by Peter to pope Benedict, to ask for the thirds of the church revenues, allowed in case of war with infidels. He entered into strict alliance with the king of Navarre, whose daughter Maria he married, and concluded a treaty with England. He next resolved to procure an accommodation with Castile, and ambassadors being appointed, the affairs of Eleanor were settled with some concessions on both sides, so as to leave the parties at leisure to attend to their preparations against the Moors.

While the Christian kings of Spain were adjusting their differences, a considerable body of men from Africa had already passed the Straits, under the chiefs Abdelmelic and his cousin Ali Atar. Their fleet had beaten the Castilian ships, and had made good the landing of the troops near Tarifa, to which place they laid siege, and, according to the Moorish history, battered it with cannon which are called "engines of thunder, which threw iron balls with naphtha, causing great havoc." But during the siege, the two chiefs Abdelmelic and Ali Atar having made several inroads on the territories of Xeres, Lebrixa, and Arcos, the Castilians, under the grand master of

Santiago, the king's lieutenant, surprised them, and gained a complete victory. The Moorish chiefs were killed, with fifteen hundred Africans, according to their own historians; but Mariana estimates the number at ten thousand, which appears too many for a detachment from the besieging army before Tarifa.

This loss inflamed the kings of Fez and Granada with resentment: they immediately summoned all good Mussulmans to revenge the deaths of their companions, and a formidable army soon passed the Straits. It is said there were not less than four hundred thousand men, and that a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail was charged to keep the coast, and supply the army with provisions.

Alonzo of Castile had assembled the cortes of the kingdom in Burgos, and again in Madrid, to consider of the peril to which the country was exposed. In order to obtain the assistance of the king of Portugal, he gave his consent to the marriage of Constance, the daughter of don John Manuel, with the infant don Pedro; and sent her into Portugal attended nobly, and among other ladies of family, by the too celebrated Inez de Castro. He hired fifteen galleys from the Genoese, and sent an ambassador to procure indulgences from the pope as for a crusade.

But while he awaited the return of his messengers a disaster occurred, which embarrassed him the more, from the very weak state of his finances.

The people had murmured loudly against Geoffry Tenorio, on account of the landing of the Africans; and had reproached that brave man as if he had, from treachery or cowardice, permitted them to pass the Straits. Stung by these reproaches, he dared with his few vessels to attack the whole Moorish fleet: he was of course overcome, his ship sunk, himself killed, and only five of the Spanish galleys escaped to Tarifa.

But the Christian army soon assembled in the neighbourhood of Seville. The fleets met at San Lucar. That of Arragon was commanded by Pedro de Moncada; the combined Castilian and Genoese squadrons by don Alfonzo Ortez Calderon, prior of St. Johns, and twelve Portuguese galleys by Pecano, who had been taken but a few months before by Geoffry Tenorio. These were commissioned to keep the coasts, and prevent the landing of reinforcements or provisions for the enemy.

All things being at length in readiness, fourteen thousand foot and twenty-five thousand horse marched from Seville towards Tarifa, before which place the Moors were encamped. They, on the other hand, on the approach of the Christians, burnt their machinery and battering towers, and changed the position of their camp to one better adapted for defence, among some neighbouring hills. On the 29th of October 1340, the Castilian army saw the Moorish tents. Early on the morning of the 30th, the kings of Castile and Portugal

and their followers took the holy sacrament, and then formed their troops in order of battle. Don John de Lara, don John Manoel, and the master of Santiago commanded the van guard. The rear was confided to don Gonzalo de Aquilar; don Pedro Nuniez had the reserve, consisting of a good body of foot; and the main body of the army was commanded by the kings in person, accompanied by the archbishop of Toledo, Gil de Albornoz, and the other bishops and grandees of the kingdom. A French knight, named Hugo, bore the banner of the crusade, and every soldier wore a red cross on his breast.

The king of Portugal, with the grand masters of Calatrava and Alcantara, directed himself against the king of Grenada, while Alonzo of Castile marched towards the flags of Abul Hassan.

Between the two camps the little river Salado ran by a short course to the sea. The Christians were the first to reach the ford, but they were met there by the Zenetes and the horsemen of Grenada. The check these gave to Juan de Lara and Juan Manoel was attributed to witchcraft; and possibly the Christians might have fled, had not the brothers Garcia and Gonzalo Lasso passed a little bridge lower down and begun the fight. Meantime the besieged, who had been reinforced during the night, sallied out of the town, attacked the camp of Abul Hassan, and seized his harem and treasure. As soon as the Africans perceived this, they in-

stantly flew to defend the tents, and left Yusef, king of Grenada, with his followers to continue the battle. He fought desperately, but his ranks were broken, and he retired to Algeziras. Abul Hassan escaped to Gibraltar, whence he crossed over the same day, leaving, it is said, two hundred thousand of his followers dead on the field of battle. It is scarcely credible that no more than twenty Christians perished, yet such is the assertion of the Spaniards.

The battle was named from the Salado, which the Moors call Wadacelito. The number of prisoners taken was immense, and the booty prodigious. The Arragonese had no part in the victory, for they were all on board their ships; and the king of Navarre was engaged with his wars in France; so that the whole honour remained with the kings of Castile and Portugal. The quantity of gold and silver found in the tents of Muley Hassan, and of his wives, one of whom was Fatima, daughter of the king of Tunis, was so great as to affect the value of the coin, and raise the price of commodities throughout Spain.

The walls of Tarifa were immediately repaired, and nothing but the want of provisions prevented Alonzo from following up the victory, by laying siege to Algeziras; but he was obliged to return to Seville to obtain money and supplies for that undertaking. The day of his return to that capital was a day of triumph; all the people of the town,

young and old, came out to meet him and Alfonso of Portugal, calling them the saviours of the country! defenders of the faith! victorious princes! Processions, illuminations and feasts were general throughout the land, and each felt as if delivered from certain destruction.

The king of Portugal would only accept of some fine horse furniture, and African swords and spurs, as his part of the prize; but a solemn embassy was sent, by Juan Martinez de Seyva, to present the pope with the royal pennon, and the horse which Alonzo rode in the battle, besides a hundred horses with rich caparisons, shields and swords being hung to the saddle-bows, and twenty-four banners taken from the Moors. The cardinals, accompanied by a great concourse of people, came out of the city to receive the embassy and conduct it to Benedict, who sung mass himself on the occasion, and bestowed the highest praises on king Alonzo. There was one knight, James Douglas, present at the battle of Salado, and who died there, of great renown himself, but of more on account of his friend Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. He had accompanied him in all his adventures, and attended him on his deathbed. Robert, as he was dying, regretted that he could not fulfil a vow he had made to visit the holy land, and fight for the honour of the cross; but he charged James Douglas to carry his heart thither, after he should have performed certain duties he left in his charge. Douglas was

some years in fulfilling his master's wishes, but at length set sail for Portugal, as the readiest road to join any company of knights on their way to Palestine. He was at the court of Affonso when he made his preparations for joining the king of Castile at Seville, and was one of the thousand knights that followed him to the field of Salado. He had always carried Bruce's heart in a gold case in his bosom; and at one period of the day seeing the Grenadians likely to gain upon the Christians, he rode up to the thickest of the battle, and taking the heart from his breast, threw it far before him, saying, "Pass forward, heart, as thou wert wont!" then fighting his way, he reached the spot, and died there.

The next year was equally fortunate for the Christians. The Castilian admiral, Gil Bocanegre, a noble Genoese, met the combined African and Grenadian fleets at the entrance of the Straits, and after an obstinate battle took and burnt a great number of the ships, and killed both the emirs who commanded them. Several towns were also recovered from the Moors, and Alonzo conceived hopes of driving them entirely out of Spain. For this end he convoked the cortes at Burgos, and laid before them the unsafe state of Christian Spain as long as the sea-ports on the Straits should remain in the hands of the Moors, who were thereby able to admit succours from Africa at pleasure. He accordingly obtained from them the grant of a

tax, called *Alcavala*, which was in fact an excise on every consumable article sold in the kingdom, for the purpose of carrying on the siege of *Algeziras*.

For two years the Christian camp was fixed before the town, and by the description the Moors have given of the ditches and trenches with which it was surrounded, we learn that the science of defence had already made great advances. *Yusef ben Ismael*, king of *Grenada*, marched from his capital in hopes of being able to relieve the city, but he found it impossible to break through the Christian lines, and therefore formed his camp within sight of them. Many were the combats that took place between the Moorish and Christian knights in the space between the two camps, which rather resembled a tilt-yard, where people assembled to see noble feats of arms, than a place of battle between two hostile kings. Among other foreign knights who came to do battle with the infidels for the good of their souls, were the earls of *Derby* and *Salisbury* of *England*, the earl of *Foix* from *France*, and many other knights of renown from both countries. But in the meantime, the most vigorous attacks were made on the besieged, who defended themselves valiantly, and destroyed the battering machinery of the Christians with those terrible engines, at that time, as it appears, peculiar to the Moors, which flung fire and balls of iron into the camp, and which, from the description, must have been a kind of mortar. While the king

of Grenada maintained his camp so near, Alonzo found it very difficult to prevent his supplying the city nightly with provisions: in vain were booms chained across the entrance to the harbour, they were burst by the tempests or overcome by the ingenuity of the inhabitants; and by the skill of a Moorish captain named Mieres, a monthly supply on a large scale had been conveyed into the place from Ceuta, where Abul Hassan remained, in order to be at hand to succour his people. At length the junction of the ships of Arragon and Portugal with fresh succours from Genoa enabled him so completely to blockade the town, that even Mieres was baffled in his attempts to carry in refreshments, and the besieged were reduced to the extreme of hunger.

But the camp of the besiegers was not exempt from ills; once or twice they had been threatened with scarcity; the heavy rains which fell in the winter of 1343 had caused a great sickness in the camp, to which some of the principal knights had fallen victims. Philip, king of Navarre, suffered long from fever, and at length being desirous of returning home, died at Xeres on the way; and the count of Foix, having removed to Seville in hopes of recovery, expired nearly at the same time.

At length, however, the perseverance of the king of Castile succeeded: Algeziras surrendered towards the end of the year 1344, and the inhabitants were generously treated by the conqueror.

A treaty was immediately entered into with

Yusef, king of Grenada, by which peace was concluded for fourteen years; all parties standing in equal need of rest and leisure, after so many years of perpetual warfare.

The interval was employed by Yusef in reforming the practice of the law, re-establishing schools, and beautifying his capital. He introduced a taste for painting and mosaic; and, after his example, many of his courtiers built magnificent palaces with towers and costly halls, with courts wherein the shade of fruit trees and fresh flowing fountains kept up an agreeable coolness even during the summer heats; so that Grenada became one of the most delightful cities in the world.

While Alonzo of Castile had been occupied at the siege of Algeziras, the king of Arragon was engaged in the war against his cousin Jayme, king of Majorca, whom he finally deprived of his dominions. Jayme was a man of talent and enterprise, but his kingdom was too feeble to contend with that of Arragon. He had sold the lordship of Montpellier and Lates for 120,000 crowns of gold to the king of France, and employed the money in equipping an expedition for the recovery of his estates; but the greater number of adventurers he had engaged to assist him in the enterprise were French, and Peter had already made conditions with the king of France not to allow his vassals to join in any enterprise to his prejudice, so that at that time it was delayed. Jayme, however, was

not to be disheartened, and accordingly sailed to Majorca, where he found an army ready to oppose him; he immediately attacked it, and was killed early in the day. His son don Jayme was taken prisoner, and was long kept in captivity by Peter, but was at length released, and married Joan, queen of Naples. Thus ended the kingdom of Majorca, which, from its first establishment, had lasted eighty-six years in a state of perpetual warfare, under three kings of the house of Arragon.

But Peter of Arragon had no sons, and his brothers and cousins began to form parties to secure the succession to the crown, maintaining that the king's three daughters were excluded from the throne, by the custom of Arragon. Consequently, Peter attempted to deprive his brother, don Jayme, of the office of procurator to the kingdom, and some other rights which he enjoyed as heir apparent to the crown. On this, the grandees exercised their privilege of union against the king, and extorted from him not only the restoration of don John, but a ratification of the privilege of union. The death of the prince, however, soon afterwards caused a renewal of the dispute between the king and the heads of the union, when the latter were defeated in battle, and Peter assembled the cortes at Zaragoza, where he finally abrogated the privilege, and caused all the records which contained any confirmation of it to be destroyed. The king called for the act of ratification which he had recently passed, and wounding his hand with his poniard, held it over the parch-

ment, saying, "that it was fit a deed so mischievous should be cancelled with the blood of a king."

The constitution of Arragon continued nevertheless extremely free. The representatives of cities and towns formed part of the cortes as well as the grandees and clergy; and the justiza became the true constitutional guard of public liberty from the time of the suppression of the privilege of union.

The death of queen Mary, by leaving Peter at liberty to marry again, gave hopes that he might have a son; an event, which, by cutting off the hopes of the various pretenders to the crown, would have tended greatly to tranquillize the state; but the new queen, Eleanor of Portugal, died within the first year of her marriage, of that pestilence which had made such havoc in the eastern part of Europe, and had now reached Spain, where its effects were scarcely less terrible. In the town of Zaragoza alone, upwards of a hundred persons died daily; and although many families fled to the country to escape, the plague pursued them there, and a fearful depopulation took place.

The principal victim of the pestilence was Alonzo XI., king of Castile, who died of it at the siege of Gibraltar on the 26th of March, 1350, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He had resolved to drive out the African garrison of that fort, and though entreated to retire from the camp where the plague was raging, he persisted in remaining with his soldiers, where he perished. Alonzo was

certainly one of the best kings that had governed Castile. He was prudent, just, and valiant; and if he was guilty of a severity, too much akin to cruelty, in some of his punishments, it must be recollected, that the wretched state of the country, long harassed by civil wars and oppressed by the domestic tyranny of petty chiefs, called imperiously for some measures sufficiently vigorous to destroy if possible the root of the evil. His chief imprudence, in raising new men to stations of power, was so early checked by the fate of his favourites, Garcí Lasso and Ossorio, that it produced no permanent evil; but his steady support of the people and the towns in preference to the nobles was of material service to the kingdom, as it reduced to their due influence those powerful barons, whose quarrels had been the source of endless civil wars.

The valour and generosity of Alonzo XI. were such, that even the Moors paid a voluntary tribute of respect to him after his death. As soon as it was known in Gibraltar that his body was to be removed from the camp, orders were given that no sallies should be made, and no annoyance offered to the besiegers; but the chief of the Moors came out in respectful ceremony to salute the corpse; and on the road to Seville, the parties of the king of Grenada observed the same form. "For," said Yusef, "we have lost the best prince in the world, who knew how to honour the worthy, whether friend or foe." And he and many of his principal cour-

tiers wore mourning for Alonzo as for a friend. Three years afterwards, Yusef himself died by the hand of an assassin; and of him it may be said, that he was equal to Alonzo in great and virtuous qualities, and happier in that he had not been forced into equal severities.

Alonzo left but one son by his wife, Maria of Portugal; Peter, surnamed the Cruel, who succeeded him, and who but too well deserved his bad reputation. By Leonora de Guzman, a lady of great beauty and merit, whom he had loved from his earliest youth, he left many children; most of whom, as well as their unhappy mother, died by the hands of Peter, as will be seen in the lamentable history of his reign.



Arms of Grenada and Valencia.

The early part of the fourteenth century is remarkable for many changes in the arts both of war and peace. The introduction of the use of gunpowder completely altered the system of warfare; and in Spain, this new instrument of destruction was first used by the Moors at the siege of Baeza, and afterwards with more effect in the defence of Algeziras. It is mentioned by some of the Arabic writers as employed in war in 1249, but the description of the sort of guns or mortars used is too slight to give any specific idea of their form, size, or fitness for any use but that of attacking or defending stone walls. Iron balls were certainly used by the African Moors; and from them the French, who claim the invention of that improvement, no doubt borrowed it. The gunpowder used by the Spanish Moors was brought from Africa; for one of the chief objects which led the Moorish captain Mieres to force the dangerous passage from Ceuta to Algeziras monthly, was, that he might convey the powder necessary for the discharge of the iron balls to annoy the Christian camp. The light armour of the Saracens, who had always preferred the chain and scale armour to the ponderous coats of plate mail used by the Christian soldiers, rendered the use of artillery doubly valuable to them, and indeed it does not appear that during the first half of this century it was adopted by the Spanish Christians.

Navigation, which though occasionally used for

the purposes of war, was at this time almost confined to those of commerce, was rapidly improving at this period. The cultivation of astronomy and the more accurate measurement of time contributed mainly to this end. The astronomer, Abu Abdallah ben Arracam, constructed elaborate astronomical tables, and invented curious clocks at Grenada, under the patronage of Yusef ben Ismael; and the polarity of the magnet, which was certainly known early in the twelfth century, began now to be applied to the purpose of the mariner's compass.

About the year 1320 or 1330, some ships of Portugal, Arragon, and Castile, in pursuit of commerce with the natives, or plunder on the coasts of Africa, reached the Canary Islands; and on their return, the accounts they gave of their discovery induced several adventurers to project the establishment of a kingdom there. The pope claimed the superiority of the new land, and bestowed it in feof on don Louis of Spain, the eldest son of don Alonzo de la Cerda, on condition that he should convert the natives to Christianity. But accident prevented that prince from proceeding to take possession of his new domain, and it was left for the kings of Spain of a later period to plant the cross, after exterminating the natives by a cruel and sanguinary war.

We have seen that the three great naval powers of the western part of the Mediterranean were the Catalans, the Pisans, and the Genoese. The Ve-

netians were the rivals of the two latter, but had not yet mingled in the affairs of Spain. The Arab seamen were not less bold and skilful than their Christian rivals, and something like the ancient maritime regulations of the Rhodians seems to have guided the practice of the navigators of the Mediterranean, though no general specific law was for some time acknowledged. About the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the magistrates of Barcelona published some written laws for the better regulation of maritime affairs, called the *Consolato del Mare*; and these were copied if not preceded by the laws of Oleron, which regulated the maritime intercourse of the northern and western coasts of Europe. Indeed, the frequency of piracy had rendered such regulations peculiarly necessary; especially since the custom of letting out for hire vessels and naval commanders had arisen among the Italian republics. For like the ancient Norwegian sea-kings, when these maritime warriors had no regular employment they went to sea on their own account, and seldom returned empty-handed to their ports. To alleviate this evil, reprisals were not only connived at by the regular governments where any loss was sustained, but gradually became part of the established law of nations.

The intimate intercourse between England and Castile, begun by the respective kings Edward I. and Alonzo the Wise, was renewed by Edward III. and Alonzo XI., and was extremely beneficial

to both kingdoms, as all liberal communications of the blessings of Providence must ultimately prove. England is indebted to Spain for the excellent race of horses which, for use and beauty combined, has, by care, become perhaps the best in the world. And a small flock of English sheep presented by Edward to Alonzo at a time when the exportation of sheep from England was forbidden, was the original stock whence the fine Spanish wool has proceeded.

One of the most eminent men of Spain during the reign of Alonzo, was Gil de Albornoz, archbishop of Toledo, and afterwards cardinal, who was a churchman, a statesman, a warrior, and a man of letters. He founded a Spanish college at Bologna, with four chaplains and thirty students, for the advancement of literature among his countrymen.

Don Juan Manuel, who was so distinguished in the civil wars, and whose daughter Constance married Peter the Severe of Portugal, was no less eminent as a man of letters than as an enterprising knight. He is the author of the *Conde Lucanor*, a book of a singular character, and not unlike in its structure to some of the moral writings of the East. The count Lucanor appears as the pupil of his tutor or counsellor, Petronio, and asks his advice on all occasions. This advice is conveyed in a fable or tale, the moral of which is summed up in a proverbial form, and often in rhyme; such as

“ No aventureis mucho tu riqueza,
Por consejo de ome que ha pobreza.”

Hazard not thy wealth on the advice of a needy man.

Don Jôhn Mannel wrote several other works in prose, and many ballads, and verses, which have continued to be popular to the present times.

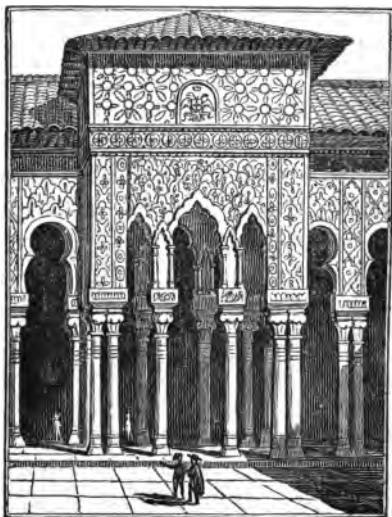
Various other writers, both of prose and verse, began now to appear in Castile; their language seems to have been fully formed, and but little mixed with the coarse dialect of Gallicia, the basis of the Portuguese; which, however, was considered as peculiarly fitted for some sorts of verse, and even to a later time excellent Castilian poets continued to compose romances and songs in the Gallician tongue.

The chivalrous romance had been, for at least a century, popular in Spain. The rhymed Chronicle of the Cid prepared the way for the tale of Amadis de Gaul, the origin of which is disputed by the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, but the greater authority seems to be for the Portuguese author Lobeira. At all events it had now become common, and no doubt furnished the models for the Esplandians, Lisuartes, Silvios, and others, which continued to delight the romance-readers of Europe, until Don Quixote achieved the great work of their overthrow.

Alonzo XI. was himself an author and a poet; he abandoned the long Alexandrine measure, which had hitherto been appropriated to narrative verse, and used the short stanza peculiar to Spain, in a general chronicle in rhyme which he composed. He generally encouraged the cultivation of the vernacular language of Castile, and caused a re-

gister of the noble families of the kingdom to be drawn up in it, besides some other books, one of which was a didactic work on field sports.

Up to this period, the different kingdoms of the Peninsula had computed time from the era of Cæsar, beginning thirty-eight years before the birth of our Lord; but in the year 1350, Peter IV. of Arragon, in a meeting held at Perpignan, abolished that custom in his dominions, and substituted the usual Christian era. Yet it was not until upwards of twenty years afterwards that the Castilian courts ceased to date their acts by the era of Spain. And it was still later before Portugal conformed to the practice of the rest of the Christian world.



Architecture—Alhambra.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PETER SURNAMED THE CRUEL, IN 1350, TO THE DEATH OF HENRY III., IN 1405.



Parada Caravanserai.

AT the death of Alonzo XI. in the camp before Gibraltar, his wife, Maria of Portugal, with their son don Pedro, commonly called Peter the Cruel, were at Seville, where the prince, then sixteen years of age, was immediately proclaimed king. Alonzo had desired to be buried at Cordóva, and his attendants accordingly proceeded to convey him

to Seville on the way thither. Ferdinand of Aragon, marquis of Tortosa and lord of Albaracim, Alonzo's nephew, was with him in the camp, and now accompanied his body, along with don Juan Nunez de Lara lord of Biscay, don Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque, and two of the sons of Alonzo by Leonora de Guzman, namely Henry count of Trastamar, and Frederic grand-master of Santiago, besides many of inferior note. When they reached Medina-Sidonia, they met other gentlemen of Alonzo's court, whose account of the proceedings and dispositions of the young king and his mother filled many with dismay, and caused some to place themselves in situations of defence. The town of Medina Sidonia had been given to Leonora de Guzman by Alonzo, and was held for her by a knight, don Alonzo Fernandez Coronel, who on this occasion desired to deliver it into her own hands, as he was unwilling to incur the displeasure of Peter by continuing to be her vassal. The unfortunate lady immediately foresaw her own ruin, if not that of her children, although her friends and connexions were among the greatest of the kingdom, her son don Tello being betrothed to the daughter of Juan Nunez de Lara, and her cousins, the Ponces de Leon, filling some of the greatest offices of the state.

But Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque, desiring to pay court to the queen mother, declared that he would arrest count Henry and the master of San-

tiago, unless their mother left Medina Sidonia and went to Seville, which, under the safe-conduct of Albuquerque and Lara, she did. But Albuquerque only sought to betray her, while Lara implicitly believed that his safe-conduct would be respected. Meanwhile, her sons and other relations took refuge in different cities and castles, the greater number going to Algeziras, of which don Pero Ponce de Leon was governor.

On the arrival of king Alonzo's body at Seville, Maria and her son, regardless of his injunctions, buried him there in the church of Santa Maria; and it was not until the reign of don Henry of Trastamar, that he was laid, according to his request, at Cordova.

A series of persecutions now began against the family of Leonora de Guzman, who was immediately considered as a prisoner, and placed at the disposal of the queen, who appears not to have been of a much more tender disposition than her son, and Leonora's death in the castle of Talavera, a few months afterwards, after being denied the sight of her children, was the forerunner of the many murders which disgrace Peter's reign.

Juan Alonzo de Albuquerque at this time possessed more influence with the king and donna Maria than any other gentleman. He was the rival of the house of Guzman, and spared neither pains nor art to prevent their sharing in Peter's favour. Even Ferdinand of Ledesma, the son of

Leonora nearest to Peter in age, and who had been brought up with him, was pointed out as an object of suspicion, because he was betrothed to his cousin, the daughter of Ponce de Leon, and the king's rage was excited beyond measure by the marriage of his brother, don Tello, with the heiress of Biscay, and that of Henry of Trastamar with the daughter of don John Emanuel of Castile. Indeed the ebullitions of Peter's fury were more like the starts of insanity than the anger of a man in his senses. But he was the grandson of that Affonso of Portugal, who murdered his son's wife and children, the beautiful Ines de Castro and her little ones, in cold blood.

No place secured a victim from his wrath, and he was but too well seconded by Albuquerque. In his own audience chamber, at the suggestion of that bad minister, Garci Lasso was seized and put to death for venturing to plead in favour of the citizens of Burgos, who had incurred their master's displeasure; and the executions that followed this act caused most of those who could command the means, and who were not under the immediate protection of the favourite, to fly from the city.

Yet in some respects Peter was a man of judgment, and when his personal passions were not interested, acted with a view to the true interest of the kingdom. One of his first acts was to endeavour to reduce the towns and fortresses called *Behetries* to a more regular form of government. These

Behetries were places that claimed the right of choosing their own lords, a right that originated from the times of the first conquests from the Moors. Some of these were empowered to choose masters and protectors of any family, nay, of any nation, and were called *de Mar à Mar*, or, from sea to sea. These had usually been delivered from the Arabs by foreign knights, who enjoyed the lordship while they remained in Spain, or while they lived; but on their absence or death, the people being left defenceless, were at liberty to choose another lord. Other Behetries were restricted to a particular nation or family, and some to one born among themselves. The evil arising from the customs of the Behetries arose from the unlimited right of change, which was proverbially ten times a day; opening a field for intrigue, and dissension of every kind; and, under pretence of the choice of the people, giving any man who could get footing in a town a pretext to resist the king's authority, and that of the civil magistracy, besides affording every facility for harbouring rebels, outlaws, and other disturbers of the public peace.

The cortes, assembled at Valladolid in 1351, presented a curious scene of contention for precedency between the representatives of Burgos and Toledo. Those of Burgos had usually opened the business of the meeting, because while the Moors possessed Toledo, Burgos had been the capital of the kingdom, and the cortes had usually been held there.

They therefore maintained their right to take precedence of all others. But the procurators of Toledo contended that their city was the see of the primate of Spain, that it was the ancient capital of the gothic kings, that it had always been looked on as the head of the kingdom, and that they were therefore entitled to address the throne first. It was, after much and warm debate, at length settled that the representatives of Burgos should be first seated, and give the first vote, but that those of Toledo should occupy a seat apart in front of the king, and that Toledo should be first named by the king in this form, "I speak for Toledo, and it will do what it is commanded: let Burgos speak." Thus peace was made between those proud cities. It is said that this composition was made in the last cortes held by Alonzo XI., but the disputes were renewed, and the same means certainly adopted by Peter, from whose time the matter was considered as legally settled.

As soon as this momentous matter had been disposed of, it was proposed to send ambassadors to France to demand one of the daughters of the duke of Bourbon in marriage for the young king, who was now seventeen years of age. Accordingly don John de Roelas, bishop of Burgos, and the noble knight Alvar Garcia de Albornoz, were despatched for that purpose; but before they returned, the king had formed a connexion which led to many crimes, and much disturbance in the state. In the

family of Alonzo de Albuquerque the king's favourite, a beautiful and lively girl, donna Maria de Padilla, was brought up as an attendant on his wife; at a casual visit the king saw and became deeply enamoured of her: his passions were violent, and it appears that, regardless of his embassy to the young princess of Bourbon, he contracted a secret marriage with Maria, whom he appears to have loved better than any other being, notwithstanding the capricious nature of his violent passions. Albuquerque saw this attachment, which he considered as a mere youthful fancy, with pleasure, as he flattered himself that he should be able by Maria's means to govern the king as he pleased, and to retain over him the unlimited influence he had hitherto possessed. But he had deceived himself. She was of a temper too high and haughty to be made the tool of a court favourite; and from the day of her favour with the king may be dated the downfall of the power of Albuquerque. Her relations gradually rose into importance, yet they did not seem to enjoy any extraordinary favour, and, indeed, no such distinction was very desirable during the capricious reign of Peter the Cruel.

Scarcely a year had elapsed since the king's connexion with Maria de Padilla, when donna Blanche of Bourbon, a young princess of great personal beauty, and only sixteen years of age, arrived at Burgos, and thence, with the king's mother and his aunt, the dowager queens of Castile and Arragon, proceeded to Valladolid to await the king, her pro-

mised husband. He arrived at the command rather than the entreaty of Albuquerque, who, already alarmed at the progress made by the Padillas in his favour, was eager for his marriage with Blanche, in hopes that she might wean him from his attachment to donna Maria. The king, indeed, had at first refused to marry Blanche, alleging that he was bound to Maria, who had just borne him a daughter, by indissoluble ties; but the tears of his mother and those of donna Leonora of Arragon his aunt, seconded by the representations of Albuquerque on the danger of so grossly insulting the family of the king of France, induced him, unwillingly, to perform the nuptial ceremony. But he left his new bride the next day to return to Maria; and, excepting one short visit of two days, made at the intreaty of the queen dowager, when he left Blanche, exclaiming that though she might be fair, she was not to be compared with Maria de Padilla, it does not appear that he ever saw her afterwards. She was for some time in a sort of honourable confinement with her mother-in-law, but afterwards kept more strictly a captive, and removed from prison to prison for sixteen years, when she was inhumanly murdered by Peter's orders, in the thirty-second year of her age. The king's conduct appeared so unnatural, that the superstitious people attributed it to witchcraft; and a story was current, that a Hebrew wizard had presented the queen with a girdle, which, he professed, would secure the king's affections, but which, in fact, was constructed to favour the Pa-

dillas, and whenever the queen put it on, it appeared to be a fearful serpent embracing her. Some have imagined that the king was jealous of his brother, don Frederick, grand master of Santiago, who had met the young queen and conducted her to Valladolid. But his own inordinate passions sufficiently account for his conduct, without supposing crimes in others.

While the court of Castile was thus disturbed by domestic dissensions and crimes, Arragon was engaged in a naval warfare for the possession of Sardinia, which had originally been conquered from Pisa. But the noble family of Doria, citizens of Genoa, possessed several towns in the island, and at their suggestion the senate of their native city undertook the conquest of the whole, intending to make it an appanage of their state; and they had brought over to their side several of the native princes of the island. The king of Arragon, in order to meet their power on an equality at sea, entered into a treaty with the Venetians, then engaged in actual war with Genoa. The combined Catalan and Venetian fleets gained a signal victory over the Genoese in the straits of Gallipoli, opposite to Pera, then in the possession of Genoa; when they took twenty-three galleys, and drove several others ashore, where they perished in a severe gale that had begun very early in the action, and which destroyed twelve of the galleys of Arragon, just as their commander Ponce

de Santapu was killed. Both parties claimed the victory, but it is certain the loss was greatest on the side of Genoa, while however the Venetians totally failed in their attack on Pera.

Shortly afterwards, Peter of Arragon being resolved on the reduction of the island, having summoned his own subjects and invited all foreign knights desirous of service, collected in his different ports a hundred sail of ships, among which were fifty-five galleys, manned with a thousand men at arms, five hundred horse, and twelve thousand Spanish infantry. Among the auxiliary ships there were several of Castile, the largest of which, the *Rose of Castro*, was of two hundred tons burthen. Many knights from England, Germany, and Navarre, joined the enterprise; and of his own vassals there were Pedro de Exeriza, Roger Lauria, Lope de Luna, Oto de Roncado, and the great admiral Bernardo de Cabrera, who commanded the whole. The queen accompanied her husband on this expedition, which was eminently successful. Of the Genoese fleet of fifty large ships and vessels, thirty-one were taken and destroyed; but the land force, which had disembarked before the naval battle, and had sat down before Alquer, now began to suffer from change of climate and the unhealthiness of the place. Many of the soldiers died; some of the nobles shared their fate, and at length the king fell sick. Upon this the queen would have had him abandon

the island at once, but he remained seven months longer, until he had concluded a treaty by no means advantageous, but by which he secured the principal towns, and stipulated for the superiority over the rest, though they were to continue in the possession of the Dorias. Olfo of Procida was left in Cagliari as governor for the king of Aragon, and the fleet returned to Barcelona with little diminution, save that caused by the fever which had attacked the soldiers before Alquer.

The ships returned to the different ports to refit, and Peter, prepared to keep the superiority which he, in conjunction with the Venetians, had gained at sea, pursued the vessels of Genoa wherever they might be found, until at length the indiscretion of one of his captains, in seizing some vessels loaded with Genoese property in a Castilian port, excited a war between him and the king of Castile. Meanwhile the state of Castile had been by no means tranquil. Many of the grandees of the kingdom, assembled at Toledo, had interceded with donna Leonora the king's aunt, to speak to him on behalf of donna Blanche his wife, who to the great scandal of the state was a prisoner, while Maria de Padilla and her relations enjoyed all the authority and favour due to royal persons, and to intreat that he would instal Blanche in her proper place, and send Maria to some nunnery either in France or Spain. But he answered that he had no intention of parting with his favourite, that he

conceived that no one was entitled to interfere with his conduct; and shortly afterwards, as if to mortify all parties, he publicly contracted a scandalous marriage with donna Joanna de Castro, whose husband don Diego de Haro was then living. The death of Affonso de Albuquerque, poisoned as it is believed by Peter's orders, by a Roman who was his physician, increased the general hatred of the king, who indeed gave daily cause for abhorrence. His brothers, Henry and Frederick, were obliged to fly from city to city to avoid his rage. On his way from Burgos to Toledo, which city he determined to punish for the compassion its citizens had shown to Blanche of Bourbon, he passed through Medina del Campo, and there without provocation caused two of the principal citizens to be put to death. On arriving at Toledo, a massacre of the Jews and a robbery of their effects took place, until the king found it would be dangerous to proceed, and therefore stopped the slaughter after the death of a thousand persons; but ordered several knights and twenty-two citizens to be executed, on pretence that they had favoured the escape of his brothers. Among the latter was an aged goldsmith, upwards of eighty years of age. His son, only eighteen years old, pleaded for his father's life, and offered his own in exchange; Peter with a savage complaisance accepted the offer, and the boy was led to execution amid the outcries of the people, who de-

manded, but in vain, the life of the pious child. The king next imprisoned the bishop of Sigüenza, for favouring donna Blanche, and then besieged his mother queen Maria, and his brothers Henry and Frederick, in Toro. Henry made his escape; Frederick accepted a safe conduct; and the brother of Maria de Padilla, to whom the king in defiance of all right had given the mastership of Santiago, being dead, that honour was restored to Frederick, who enjoyed it but two years. On taking Toro, don Per Estivanez Carpentero, and Ruy Gonzalez de Castanada, with several other gentlemen, were seized and murdered in the aged queen's presence; and even at the tournament proclaimed by the king on account of the reduction of the place, he caused two of don Frederick's attendants to be put to death early in the morning, as a prelude to the day's rejoicings.

Henry of Trastamare, commonly called count Henry, had, on escaping from Toro, fled to his brother don Tello, lord of Biscay, where he remained for some time, guarded by the mountainous nature of the country, and by the bravery of Tello's vassals. From thence he proceeded by sea to La Rochelle, and then joined the dauphin of France, in whose service he continued for some time during the war with the English. Nearly at the same period, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, who had from motives of private revenge caused Louis de la Cerda, constable of France, to

be assassinated, was seized by the dauphin at Rouen and imprisoned, partly on that account, and partly because he had joined the English against his liege lord the king of France. It was in this year, 1356, that at the battle of Poitiers Edward the Black Prince took king John of France, and his youngest son Philip, prisoners; and it was in consequence of that battle, so disastrous to France, and in which so many of the principal nobles perished, that Charles, surnamed the Wise, invited foreign knights to join him in the recovery of his country. Under his banners Henry of Trastamare learnt the art of war, and contracted that friendship with the great Bertrand du Guesclin, which was of such singular service to him in his contest with Peter the Cruel.

Meanwhile a war between Castile and Arragon broke out, in the course of which Peter of Castile displayed all the vices of his nature, and at the same time bravery and presence of mind enough to have made a hero of another man. The actual occasion of the war was slight. After the capture of Toro Peter happened to be at Seville, and being desirous of taking the diversion of fishing, he put out to sea in a small pleasure vessel. While sailing about the harbour he saw some ships belonging to the king of Arragon enter the port and seize several vessels of Placentia, which were loaded with oil on account of the merchants of Genoa. The king immediately commanded the

Arragonese captains to release their prizes: they refused, and sailed through the Straits towards the coast of Portugal, and thence to France, to dispose of their prizes. Peter of Castile fitted out some ships, and in person followed the refractory captains, but without effect; and returning enraged at his want of success, determined on war with Peter the Ceremonious, king of Arragon. But Arragon was prepared. The ports were full of well-equipped ships, the army and its leaders confident in their sovereign, the cortes favourable to him, and his own character for truth and justice so high, that he could command efficient help from his subjects, and support from foreign princes with certainty. His half-brother Ferdinand of Arragon had been long in the service of Castile, whither he and his brother don John had been conveyed by their mother Leonora, at a very early age, when she fled from the kingdom of her step-son, and took refuge in that of her brother Alonzo XI. Weary of the caprices of his cousin Peter of Castile, Ferdinand negotiated with his brother of Arragon and entered into his service; a negotiation which cost him very dear, for the king of Castile suspecting that he had not made his peace with Arragon without the privity of his brother and mother, imprisoned Leonora, and only waited his time to execute a complete revenge on her, and her other son.

But his first excess was committed on his own

brother Frederick, who had served him so faithfully and distinguished himself so much, that the praises of the people excited Peter's jealousy. He sent for Frederick as if to reward him for his services, but no sooner had he reached his presence than he made a signal to the executioners, and the unfortunate prince was murdered before his cruel brother's eyes. Peter had no sooner proceeded thus far than he resolved to go one step farther, and instantly went into Biscay intending to seize don Tello, but that prince had timely notice, and escaped, first to San Juan de Luz, and thence to Bayonne, at that time belonging to England. Disappointed in his hopes of securing Tello, Peter by a piece of refined cruelty delivered himself from his cousin don John of Arragon. He had promised to give him the lordship of Biscay, after the flight of don Tello, if the Biscayans would receive him; and accordingly convoked the states at Bilboa, that they might proceed to the choice of a new master. Peter was in his dining apartment when don John arrived; he conversed with his victim as if seriously intending to fulfil his promises, when, hearing the people without clamorous for a sight of their new prince, he made a sign to his attendants, who fell upon John and despatched him, though not without a struggle; and then throwing his body from the window, Peter bade the crowd take their new prince and do what they liked with him. No one dared to touch the re-

mains of the king's cousin, but Peter himself ordered them to be taken to Burgos, and there, after being exposed for some time in a tower of the castle, he had them thrown into the deepest part of the river. The next step of Peter was to order his creature Hinistrosa, the uncle of Maria de Padilla, to secure donna Leonora his aunt, and Isabel de Lara the widow of don John. The murder of these unhappy ladies followed in the next year, and donna Juanna, sister of donna Isabel, was only reserved to be for a few years the prison companion of queen Blanche, whom she preceded to a premature grave. From this time the atrocities of Peter knew no bounds. Every check he received in his foreign wars was revenged by some domestic murder. On count Henry of Trastamare's joining the king of Aragon, a fanatic priest having prophesied that the count would dethrone Peter and sit in his place, Peter caused him to be tortured and burnt, notwithstanding his sacred character. Shortly afterwards, his resources for two years having fallen short of the demand, he ordered his chief treasurer the Jew Simuel Levi, with all his family, to be arrested and put to the rack, to force from them the confession of concealed treasures. Simuel, who had served him from the very beginning of his reign with exemplary fidelity, died under the torture, and several of his friends shared the same fate. But the most horrible instance of Peter's cruelty

occurred after he had learned that Henry of Trastamare had gained a victory over the Castilian troops; it recalled to his memory the prophecy of the priest, and without allowing an hour to elapse, he sent orders to Carmona, where his young brothers Juan and Pedro, one fourteen and the other ten years of age, were in confinement, to despatch them; and this deed, executed by Garci Diaz of Albaracin, irritated the people more than any thing, for these children, as they said, could not have been guilty of any fault against the king.

One more deed of violence, though not the only one committed afterwards by Peter, we must mention, because it had a considerable influence on the Moorish affairs of Spain.

It has been already mentioned that the king of Grenada, Yusef Abul Hagiaz, had been assassinated in 1354. His son Muhammad V. succeeded him, and his first object was to secure peace with the Christians and the king of Fez, that he might devote himself to the domestic cares of the government, which were most to his taste, although he was by no means deficient in the qualities of a warrior. But he had little time to attend to either, for he was scarcely seated on the throne when his half-brother Ibrahim, whose mother had secreted the greatest part of the late king's jewels, during the confusion consequent on his death, corrupted a part of the royal guard, entered the palace, caused himself to be proclaimed king, and pro-

ceeded to Muhammad's apartment to seize him. But a young female slave who was tenderly attached to her master gave him timely notice; and with him and a younger brother escaped to Cadiz, where they were safe from the pursuit of Ismael, and where, as an ally and dependant on Castile, Muhammad remained until the crimes of his family and of his ally once more called him to the throne of Grenada. Abu Said, a relation of Ismael, had in fact conducted the conspiracy which seated him on the throne; he therefore presumed on his power, governed the new king with absolute dominion, and removed from him every faithful counsellor. He next endeavoured to make him odious to the soldiers, and having partially succeeded, he caused his secret emissaries to raise a mob in the great square before the palace, and clamour for the death of Ismael, and the elevation of Abu Said. The unhappy Ismael no sooner heard the shouts of the people and understood the cause, than he endeavoured to save himself, with a few of the citizens and soldiers, in the upper fortress of the palace, and perhaps might have succeeded; but he made an unfortunate sally against the enemy, and fell into the hands of his enemy, who after upbraiding him with the crimes of which he himself had been the instigator, he gave orders that he should be secretly put to death in prison.

Although Abu Said considered himself in tran-

quill possession of the throne of Grenada, there were some partizans of Muhammad in the provincial towns who availed themselves of the earliest opportunity of re-establishing the authority of that prince in their cities; and of these Malaga was the most important. At the same time Peter of Castile, nothing loth to have an excuse for making an attack on the Moors, sent an expedition under Padilla, now grand-master of Calatrava against Abu Said, and, as he pretended, in behalf of Muhammad. Padilla, however, and several other christian gentlemen, were taken prisoners. Abu Said dreading the power of Castile, hoped to win Peter's friendship by setting free Padilla, whose relationship to donna Maria he well knew, without ransom. Encouraged by Peter's messages in return for the freedom of the grand-master, Abu Said resolved to visit him at Seville, and accordingly went thither with a numerous and gallant retinue; and, to do more honour to his new ally, took with him his most precious jewels, and a quantity of plate, and gold and silver ornaments. On his arrival, Peter received him in a friendly manner, and assigned commodious quarters in the Jewry for himself and his followers. The next day the same friendly intercourse continued; but Peter having in the mean time heard of the treasures Abu Said had brought with him, caused him to be treacherously seized while at a feast and carried to prison; his retinue was incarcerated in a different

place. The next morning they were marched out to an elevated spot, called the Tablada, near the city, and there put to death. Peter himself stabbed Abu Said, who, as he fell, exclaimed, "O king of Castile, that was a felon stroke for a knight! to strike a brother king who trusted to thee, when in thy power*." Two hundred of the best knights in Grenada fell with him; and if any thing could have increased the hatred of the people for Peter, it was this unchivalrous act. But the measure of his crimes was now nearly full. Of six sons of Alonzo XI. by Leonora de Guzman, three had perished by the cruelty of Peter; Tello, Sancho, and count Henry, had only saved their lives by flight. Most of the noble families had lost some member by the king's tyranny, and every class had suffered in turn from his unbridled passions.

The disgust of all his subjects was now so little disguised, that Peter felt that the succession to the crown, if not its actual possession, was insecure. Having no child by the queen, he resolved to assert the lawfulness of his marriage with Maria de Padilla, who died of a broken heart occasioned by Peter's conduct, but a few months after the murder of Abu Said; he assembled the cortes of Castile at Seville for that purpose, and also to procure the no-

* The christian historians call Abu Said, either *El Rey Bermejo*, i. e. the red king, or Mahomet Barberossa. The Arab writer, translated by Conde, calls him Abu Said. All are agreed as to the time and manner of his death.

mination of Alonzo, his son by her, as the heir apparent of the crown. But the child died in a few months, and Peter was left even without that slight hold on the duty of his subjects. Still his exertions in the field against Arragon were well directed, and often successful; but his unpopularity daily increased as his acts of tyranny multiplied. In vain he concluded a truce with England, and procured the protection of the Black Prince; in vain he took castles and towns on the frontier of Arragon; in vain did he attempt to make a truce with his namesake Peter the Ceremonious: the conditions were too atrocious. He offered to marry one of the princesses of Arragon, provided her father would first put to death his brother Henry of Trastamare, and then don Ferdinand of Arragon, his cousin. It is needless to say these proposals were not accepted; and the war between Arragon and Castile continued.

It appears difficult to account for Peter's being able to collect armies, and to induce followers enough to support him in his wars, while his conduct was so tyrannical and his person so feared and hated. But he had been chiefly the oppressor of the nobles, and in order to rid himself of those powerful petty princes whom he dreaded and disliked, he had raised the meaner knights and the people at their expense; hence, though after the murder of his brother Frederick few of the highest names of Castilian nobility are to be found in his

ranks, he was enabled to bring multitudes of another class into the field.

Meanwhile, count Henry of Trastamare, who had for some time served under the banners of the king of Arragon against his brother, Peter of Castile, had by the encouragement of the French court, conceived the design of superseding him in the kingdom. The French were most justly exasperated at the fate of Blanche especially, the young princess of Bourbon. The constable Bertrand du Guesclin, besides his hatred of the unknighly king who could harm a woman, had conceived a strong attachment for Henry; and moreover considered Peter as an ally of the English, the conquerors of Cressy and Poitiers, whose mortal enemy he was. These, with many other French knights of renown, and all the chivalry of Arragon, followed Henry to Calahorra, where he was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon in 1366. Thence he marched towards Burgos, where Peter at that time was with a considerable force. As soon as he heard of the approach of Henry, he prepared to quit the town, when the principal citizens waited on him and assured him they, with his troops, could make good the place against Henry. But Peter persisted in his intention of flight, saying, his children and his treasures were at Seville, and thither he must and would go. They then desired he would release them from their oath of fealty, which he did before the public

notaries of the town council, and bade them make the best terms they could for themselves : after which he left the city, having first put to death a knight whose brother had joined Henry at Calahorra.

The new king found no difficulty in occupying Burgos, which he did about the month of March, and was there crowned, and received the homage of the grandees, burgesses, and clergy of the kingdom, and rich presents and contributions, especially from the Jews, who were anxious to purchase his protection. To the Arragonese lord of Denia he gave the lands which his own wife, donna Juanna, inherited from her father don Juan Manuel ; the county of Trastamare, and lordship of Molina, he bestowed on Bertrand du Guesclin ; Hugo Coverley an English knight, he made count of Carrion ; and the counties of Biscay and Lara he gave to his brother don Tello, whose wife, murdered by Peter, was heiress to half those lands ; and as her sister had perished in the same manner, and there was no male heir, no injustice was done in bestowing the whole on Tello. Don Sancho, his other brother, he endowed with the estates of Albuquerque, the original abettor of the cruelties of Peter, who had long since atoned, by a wretched death, for the crimes caused by his ambition. From Burgos Henry followed Peter to Toledo, which easily surrendered, and the people of all the neighbouring places sent in congratulations and offers of homage and service. The citizens of

Seville also began to show symptoms of discontent so alarming to Peter, that he sent his eldest daughter, Beatriz, to Portugal with a large dowry in money, plate, and jewels, to marry the infant don Fernando, son of Peter the Just, in order to induce that king to assist him against count Henry. But the latter moved on too swiftly to allow time for an answer to his petition, and Peter having sent a galley to await him in a Portuguese port, fled with his two younger daughters towards the frontier. There he met his messenger returned from the court of Lisbon: the king, in the name of don Ferdinand, refused Beatriz and her dowry, and also all assistance, because the wife of Henry of Trastamare was the sister of Constance of Castile, the mother of Ferdinand. From the same messenger he learned that his galley had been taken when in sight of her port, by the Castilian admiral, who had declared in favour of Henry. In this dilemma, Peter once more applied to the king of Portugal, who granted him a safe-conduct through his dominions into Galicia. When he arrived at Santiago, where he had still a number of partisans, he became jealous of the power of the archbishop, who had come out to meet him with two hundred horse, and was moreover offended at the freedom with which the good priest advised him to moderate his passions and endeavour to regain the affections of his subjects. He therefore put him and the dean of the great church to death, and thereby dimi-

nished the number of those who still adhered to him as the legitimate king of Castile.

His next measure was one which was certainly the best that, under the circumstances, he could adopt. Embarking at Corunna he sailed to Bayonne, where Edward the Black Prince then held his court. He took with him his young daughters, and implored the assistance of Edward in recovering his kingdom. He pleaded his long alliance with England, and the intimate connexion that had always existed between that country and Castile. He represented himself and children driven from their patrimony, as much by the intrigues of France, the inveterate enemy of England, as by the rebellion of his brother. He promised to Edward the lordship of Biscay for himself, and to his friend, Sir John Chandos, the town of Soria with its dependencies; besides ample pay for such gentlemen and companies of knights and soldiers as should take up the defence of his cause. Edward referred the matter to his father in England, and while waiting for his directions, he assured Peter of a safe asylum at Bayonne. John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster was at that time with his brother at Bayonne, and it was agreed that he should marry Constance, the second daughter of Peter, and that she should be made heiress of the crown of Castile, her father having no legitimate sons.

Meanwhile Henry of Trastamare had visited every province of his new monarchy, and the

people had every where acknowledged his authority: if there was any check to his popularity it arose from the foreigners who attended him, and whom he found it necessary to reward for their services; but this was done at as little expense to the people as possible, the cruelty of Peter having left many offices and estates without occupants. No sooner had the Black Prince received his father's permission to support Peter's quarrel than he called together all his knights and captains of companies who might be engaged in other services. Some of these were with Henry of Trastamare; but all instantly flocked to the standard of their prince, and Edward marched into Spain at the head of a large body of troops early in the year 1367. Having passed by the defile of Roncesvalles, different companies were despatched by Peter's advice into the different provinces to forage; these being stopped by detachments from Henry's army, his main force was believed to be near, and the Black Prince drew up his companies in battle array at a place called San Roman near Victoria, and there knighted Peter of Castile, along with many other gentlemen.

But Henry avoided a battle, and occupied the different passes, so that Peter's army could not penetrate into Castile, nor venture to attack him without manifest disadvantage. At length, however, Edward found his opponent at Najara, and

there gained a complete victory, and restored Peter to the throne of Castile.

On that day the prince of Wales's soldiers wore white crests, and their shields were white with St. George's cross in crimson upon them; their war-cry was *Guienne!* St. George! and the duke of Lancaster! and sir John Chandos led the van.

The army of Henry wore ribands in their crests; their cry was Castile! Santiago! and they were led by don Sancho of Castile and Bertrand du Guesclin. But don Tello, who commanded the left wing of Henry's army, as soon as he saw the count of Armagnac at the head of the Black Prince's right coming up, fled from the field with his people, and then D'Armagnac fell on the flank of the Castilian infantry, which formed the main body; the slaughter was dreadful. Henry, Sancho, and Bertrand du Guesclin fought like desperate men, and their own immediate followers failed them not, but were killed or made prisoners in their places. Seeing the horse availed little in their situation, they alighted and fought at the head of the infantry; but their bravery availed nothing. Bertrand du Guesclin, don Sancho, don Philip de Castro, the grand masters of Santiago and Calatrava, the bishop of Badajos, and many other counts, lords, knights, prelates and persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. Four hundred of the bravest were killed; in the field four good knights were

murdered by Peter after they had been made captives by other knights; and the next day, when the prisoners were reviewed by the generals, it required the influence, the authority, nay, even the menaces of the Black Prince, to prevent Peter from putting them all to death in cold blood.

After the battle Henry escaped to Avignon, where he was well received by pope Urban V., and where he received assurances of the continued friendship of the king of France. His family was for the present under the protection of Peter the Ceremonious, to whom they had been conveyed from Burgos by the archbishop of Toledo and Zaragoza, who learned early from don Tello that the battle of Najara was lost.

But Peter of Arragon gave them but a cold reception; he took back his infant daughter Leonor, who had been intrusted to the care of Henry, as the future consort of his son; and, instigated by his queen, the bishop of Lerida, and some other personal foes of Henry, he rather suffered donna Juanna's residence at Zaragoza till she could join her husband, than received her as a sister queen.

It has been the custom to extol the times of Edward the Black Prince as superior to our own in generosity, courtesy, and all that is fascinating to our imagination as connected with chivalry; and had every knight been like him, the praise would be deserved, and the fond regret so often expressed that those times are passed away would be just.

But the evils caused by the cruelty of Peter form too gloomy a picture to be balanced by the generous gallantry of the English prince; and the hardy truth and honour of the illiterate Du Guesclin had fewer imitators than the treachery of the king of Navarre. Charles the Bad had not been in the battle of Najara, but was taken by Oliver de Manny, an English knight, at Borja, after the action: he agreed for his ransom, but required that Manny and his brother should accompany him to Tudela to receive it, leaving his younger son Philip as a hostage at Borja. No sooner had he arrived at Tudela, than he gave orders to arrest the two Mannys: one of them attempted to escape, and was killed; Oliver was thrown into a dungeon, where he remained until Philip of Navarre was exchanged for him, and thus the knight was defrauded of the king's ransom.

Bertrand du Guesclin was a captive whom Edward rejoiced to have taken, and he sent him to Bourdeaux, not intending to release him until the war between England and France should be over. He treated him honourably, and made him his companion while he was in the same town; but he considered him too valuable to the French monarchy to give up for any ransom. As soon as Du Guesclin understood the reason of his detention, he sent word to the Black Prince that he did him great honour, to think that among so many gentlemen and knights of renown, his lance was so

terrific, that for it alone he was to be detained while France and England were at war. Then Edward, after a moment's thought, said to the knight who brought him the message, "He says well; tell him I will set him free; let him name his ransom, and be it but a straw, for that even will I give him his liberty." Then when the prince's message was brought to Bertrand, the knights thought he would have named some small sum, for he was very poor. But he answered, "Be it so; I will name the ransom, and though I am but a poor knight in silver and in gold, yet in good friends I have enough, and I will give him one hundred thousand franks in gold for this body of mine." The prince was astonished at the offer; but since it was so, ratified his promise, and said he would receive Du Guesclin's assurance, and that he was already free. Then Bertrand sent into Brittany to his friends, the lords and knights of that large country, and no sooner did they know that Du Guesclin's ransom was required, than each sent his squire with his seal, and power to take up in his name to the extent of his whole living, so it might profit Monsieur Bertrand; and he took from each according to his need, and he paid it to the prince, and then left him to join king Charles of France. And when that king knew how he was ransomed, he paid to each knight of Brittany the portion he had advanced; for he said the king of France

might well pay the ransom of the champion of his kingdom.

Immediately after the battle of Najara, Peter began to display his treacherous and tyrannical disposition. Though restrained by the Black Prince from harming the prisoners at the time, he lost no occasion of injuring their friends and allies. He also grew cold towards the English, who had so materially assisted him; refused to ratify his gift of Soria to sir John Chandos; and as to the lordship of Biscay, which he had promised to Edward, he pretended that the inhabitants were too little under his control to receive a master at his hands. Nevertheless, the prince advanced with him as far as Burgos, where he once more resumed the authority, and with it the whole of his character. He positively refused the rewards he had promised to the knights of the English army, and when, after repeated entreaties, he pretended to pay the troops, old jewellery, much of which was false, collars, furniture and stuff, of which they could make no use, was delivered to them in lieu of the money, which it had been stipulated in writing should be paid in French coin. Not content with his fraud, Peter added insult to his dishonesty; and Edward at last retired to Bayonne in disgust, and sold his own plate and jewels to satisfy the soldiers who had followed him into Castile.

The return of Peter to his kingdom was marked

by a renewal of his former atrocities. In Seville, donna Urraca Osoria was put to death, because the king could not lay hands on her son. Bocanegra, admiral of Castile, Ponce de Leon, and several other knights, unfortunately did not escape in time, and shared the same fate; and, most unjust of all, his treasurer Ganez was executed because he had been taken prisoner.

But even before Edward of England had retired, the party of Henry of Trastamare was again making head in Castile. And Henry himself, assisted by the count of Anjou and countenanced by the king of France, to whom he sold his claim as king of Castile to the county of Cessenon in the diocese of Beziers for twenty-seven thousand franks, was raising a fresh army in the south of France. His wife and family had joined him at Pierrepertuise, and there he left them in security, while he repaired to Avignon to provide the arms and other muniments of war necessary for recovering his crown.

The cautious king of Arragon refused to grant Henry a passage through his states into Castile, but the refusal did not arrive till he was already far advanced, and the king of Arragon's show of resistance was confined to a few straggling companies, who watched rather than opposed his march. When Henry crossed the Ebro and found himself once more in Castile, he knelt down and, solemnly kissing the earth, made a vow never again to quit

the kingdom. The citizens of Burgos no sooner heard of his return, than they sent to invite him to take possession of their city. Many of the other principal places of the northern part of the kingdom did the same; but Toledo, Seville, Cordova, and their dependencies in the south, held out for Peter, who had called his old ally, Muhammad, king of Grenada, to his assistance.

The siege of Toledo occupied Henry for some time. The walls of Jaen, which had declared for Henry, were razed to the ground by Muhammad, who also sacked and destroyed the city of Ubeda. But this auxiliary was so disagreeable to the Castilians, that the party of Peter daily diminished, and that of his rival proportionably increased.

The siege of Toledo lasted longer than the friends of the best interests of the kingdom had expected, owing partly to the strength of the situation, partly to the ignorance of the arts of attack in those ages. At length, Peter resolved to march from Seville at the head of a body of troops, and raise the siege if possible; but Henry met him near the castle of Montiel, and gained a complete victory; Peter himself escaping with a few attendants to the castle.

As soon as it was known that he was in Montiel, a stone wall was built round it, for it was but a solitary tower, and a strong guard set, of which some of the principal captains had always the charge. Two or three nights after the battle, Men

Rodrigo, one of those shut up with Pedro, saw from the bartizans that Bertrand du Guesclin, whose prisoner he had once been, was the commander of the guard; he therefore came to propose to him to allow Peter to escape. But Du Guesclin, without entering into the merits of the quarrel between the kings, answered, "that he being the king of France's vassal was sent by him to support Henry, and that he would do it like a knight, and give his enemies no advantage." I wish it were possible to clear Bertrand from all suspicion of treachery in the scene that ensued. The castle of Montiel being no longer tenable, because among other things it wanted water, Peter, with his last remaining followers, came out in the night, and riding to the tents of Du Guesclin, placed himself in his hands. Some disturbance arising, Henry hurried to the French knight's quarters to inquire into the cause; as he entered the tent, some one exclaimed to him, "Your enemy is here." On which Peter, who was at first standing in the shadow, advanced and cried, "I am he, I am he!" and sprung furiously on Henry. They struggled in each other's arms; at one moment Peter held Henry on the ground under him, but the next Peter was stretched dead before his brother. It is believed that Rocaberti stabbed Peter as his brother lay half strangled beneath him, and thus terminated the unnatural contest, at the same time that he delivered Castile from a tyrant, whose caprices and

wanton love of bloodshed we may hope rather proceeded from starts of madness, than from any deliberate perversion of a sane human mind.

Peter died in his thirty-sixth year. He was passionate in his attachments, cruel in his hatred, temperate in sleep and diet, capable of great exertion, and an indefatigable hunter. Immeasurably covetous, he robbed and fined the Jews and other rich men of the state; nay he even put some to the torture to draw from them a confession of hidden treasures. He had reigned nineteen years, the last three of which were passed in a struggle with Henry for the crown. His person was large, his complexion ruddy, and he hesitated in his speech.

The ten years of Henry's reign were ten years of comparative repose for Castile, yet the beginning was not without danger.

No sooner was the death of Peter known than five pretenders to the crown of Castile put in their claims. The kings of Navarre, Arragon, and Portugal, as being the nearest legitimate descendants of Saint Ferdinand, were the nearest, and had already seized several of the frontier towns: the dukes of Lancaster and Cambridge, the one of whom had married Constance, and the other Isabella, the daughters of Peter the Cruel, were the most to be dreaded, on account of the powerful support which they might expect from the king of England their father, and their brother the Black

Prince. Henry, however, was little dismayed. He knew he possessed the good wishes of the people, who were averse to receive a foreign master; and he resolved to leave nothing undone to gain the friendship of the Castilian nobles.

They were indeed sufficiently irritated by the cruelty of Peter to abandon the claims of his daughters; but the pretensions of the kings of Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre, being founded on the right of the legitimate descendants of Saint Ferdinand, were not so easily to be set aside. The greatest difficulty Henry had to overcome in securing the support of the grandees arose from the number of foreigners who had accompanied him from France, and had materially assisted him in gaining the kingdom. It was impossible to dismiss them unrewarded, at the same time that Henry felt not only the inconvenience but the imprudence of giving them lands within the kingdom; but this difficulty he overcame by means which might have ruined a prince of less address. The treasury of the late king contained, besides a considerable sum of money, goods and jewels to a vast amount: these he sold at once, and to make up whatever was deficient he issued a new coinage of base alloy, and borrowed money from all who could be prevailed on to lend it, that he might satisfy and dismiss the foreigners. However odious these things might be in general, king Henry's gentleness, bravery, and character for truth, made

them not only tolerable but agreeable. The people familiarly called him *The knight*, because of the sacredness of his word and his courteous yet dignified deportment.

Of his foreign enemies near home the king of Portugal was the most active. Ferdinand the son of Peter the Just now filled the throne. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of Henry's kingdom, he marched into Galicia, where he took several towns, and proceeding northward seized Corunna; but he was quickly obliged to retreat from thence by a fleet of twelve galleys equipped by the people of Seville, which not only relieved the coast of Biscay from the Portuguese, but harassed the whole coast of Portugal, and obliged Ferdinand to attend to the defence of his own ports, while Henry at the same time attacked him by land at the head of a large army, composed almost entirely of volunteers. He advanced as far as Coimbra; but as his intention was only to relieve Castile from foreign inroads, not to engage in new conquests, he retired as soon as the Portuguese evacuated Galicia, and peace was soon after concluded.

As to the king of Arragon, he for the present abandoned the prosecution of his claims on Castile, on account of some disturbances in Sardinia; and shortly afterwards, by the good offices of the king of France, he concluded a peace with Henry. The marriage contract between the infant John,

Henry's heir, and Leonor the infanta of Arragon, which had been broken off after the disastrous battle of Najara, was now renewed, and it was agreed that the princess should be delivered to queen Juanna her future mother-in-law, to be educated as the bride of her son.

The mediation of France was likewise accepted by the king of Navarre; and as Muhammad, king of Grenada, came to terms during the same year, the whole Peninsula remained for some time at peace.

But in 1374 John of Gaunt, who in conjunction with John de Montfort duke of Brittany had ravaged Artois and the Vermandois in the preceding year, arrived at Bourdeaux; where he collected an army for the avowed purpose of asserting the right of his wife Constance to the crown of Castile, and endeavoured to obtain assistance from Arragon and Navarre; but neither Charles nor Peter were willing to hazard the tranquillity of their kingdoms in support of his claims. Henry in the mean time had repaired to Burgos, that he might be near the northern frontier, and repel the enemy at whatever point he might make his attack. All the nobles of the kingdom joined him,—his old adherents from affection, and those who had formerly opposed him, in order to gain his favour: at the head of these he marched against Bayonne where he was joined by Charles king of France,

who made common cause with him against the English, who then possessed that city. Want of provisions, however, forced the king of Castile to retreat, and with him part of the French army, whose necessities were equal. With the last came two persons whose pretensions to the throne of Arragon caused in the sequel considerable disturbances in that kingdom. These were don Jaymes the son of the last king of Mallorca, who had married the famous Joan queen of Naples, and his sister Isabel, marchioness of Montferrat, a woman of masculine spirit, who after Jaymes' death took on her the command of his soldiers and asserted her pretensions to Arragon, which on this occasion she made over to Louis duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France.

The war with England was carried on by sea. Ferdinand de Tover, one of the most celebrated naval commanders of the age, had spread alarm on the coasts of the channel; he had also worsted the English fleet off Bourdeaux, as Bocanegra had done two years before off La Rochelle. But the death of Edward III., preceded by that of the Black Prince, had left the English in too unsettled a state to carry on the war with spirit; and for the last four years of Henry's life, the only dispute in the kingdom was between the favourers of the two popes, Clement and Urban. The king of Arragon had set the example of a wise neutrality in

this matter ; and Henry, though pressed by messengers from the king of France in favour of Clement, persisted in referring the dispute to the decision of the church.

The death of Henry was bitterly lamented by his people. It was occasioned by gout, to which he was subject, and took place at Burgos in 1379. His advice to his son John when on his death-bed deserves to be remembered. He counselled him by no means to take part in the quarrels of the church ; to be faithful to his allies, and especially to France ; to be grateful to those who had been his partisans in the civil war ; to reward and protect them, but to be watchful over them. To employ with confidence such as had adhered to Peter ; for they had not only their own character for fidelity to support, but must be anxious by their services to do away the remembrance of their opposition ; as to those who had stood neuter, they being people occupied solely about their own personal interests, were not worthy to be employed in the service of the commonwealth. Henry was buried at Toledo.

The suddenness of this king's death and the occasion of it, gout in the feet, gave rise no doubt to the story, that even Mariana has repeated, attributing his death to putting on a pair of embroidered Moorish buskins infected with deadly poison, sent him by the king of Grenada. But the cotemporary Arab writer, who also mentions

this calumny, says, the noble Mahomet of Grenada was no poisoner or traitor! He survived Henry twelve years, and those years were passed in honour and peace. His numerous ships protected his ports from danger, and his merchants from insult. He repaired and beautified his town of Cadiz, and made it a store-house for the merchandize of all parts of the world. In Almeria might be seen the natives of Italy and Greece, Egypt and Syria, Africa and the new islands, all at ease as if in their own land.

The hospitals of the kingdom were rebuilt or repaired, and the sick and the wounded of all sects who had escaped from the civil wars found in them physicians and bread. One of Muhammad's principal charities was adding to the hospital at Grenada gardens and courts, with fountains and alcoves, for the recreation of the invalids, and especially of those whose maladies lay in the mind.

The Genoese had a particular factory at Grenada, of noble dimensions. It was there that the Christian knights of Africa, Egypt, France and Spain lodged when they came to the solemn tournaments held on occasion of the acknowledgment of Muhammad's son, Abu Abdalla Jusuf, as heir to the throne, and his marriage with the daughter of the king of Fez. The bride's brother had accompanied her to Grenada, and there he fell in love with the beautiful Zahira, daughter of Abu Ayan,

one of the richest and bravest knights of Andalusia. The feasts and tournaments on occasion of the two marriages are said to have been most splendid, and that the foreign knights were no less charmed with the courtesy than with the gallantry of the Moorish gentlemen.

Don John, son of Henry, was solemnly crowned at Burgos, together with his queen Leonor of Arragon, in the year 1379. One hundred noble youths received knighthood at his hands on the occasion, and the city displayed great magnificence in honour of the young sovereigns. The first care of John was to renew the alliance between France and Castile, and to assist the king of France in his wars with John de Montfort and the English: he consequently fitted out a fleet of twenty galleys, which he sent against the coasts both of Brittany and England, under Fernan Sanchez de Tover. The admiral, after having alarmed De Montfort's ports, suddenly passed the straits of Dover, and sailed up the Thames nearly to London, to the great alarm of the citizens, who had never seen an enemy so near their homes. Tover was however soon driven from that river, but he carried home with him a considerable booty taken from the merchants at sea, or in the small ports on either side of the channel.

John was not so prudent or so obedient, in the matter of neutrality in the affairs of the church, for he suffered himself to be persuaded to espouse

the party of Clement, at an assembly which first met at Burgos, and afterwards removed to Salamanca: but the decision of the king was so unpopular, that the death of his excellent mother, which took place about the same time, was looked upon as a judgment of Heaven upon him for favouring the false pope. The king of Arragon still continued to hold the balance even; and thus while he kept both parties in suspense as to his final determination, he guarded the state from many encroachments of the holy see.

The evil consequences of John's declaration in favour of pope Clement were not long in arriving. The Portuguese had recognised the authority of Urban, and he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against John of Castile, as soon as he learned that he had acknowledged his rival. The king of Portugal therefore considered himself as no longer bound by his treaties with that prince, and made a league offensive and defensive against him with the English. The first point was to deprive John of the kingdom, which they alleged belonged of right to the duchess of Lancaster, as the eldest daughter of Peter, and they determined to attack Castile by sea and land. But at the very beginning of the war, Tover gained a complete victory over the Portuguese admiral, and took twenty-one of his ships. This success, however, was not followed up; and Edmund duke of Cambridge landed in Lisbon at the head of a consider-

able English army, in support of the claims of Constance.

But the war at this time proceeded no farther, all parties becoming from peculiar circumstances equally desirous of peace; one of the conditions of which was that Beatriz, heiress of Portugal, should marry Henry the infant of Castile, and that her younger sons only should legally inherit the kingdom of Portugal, while the elder succeeded to Castile. But the death of Leonor of Arragon, the following year, opened the way for a more speedy and more suitable alliance for the Portuguese princess, and accordingly John I. of Castile married her in 1383. The nuptials were scarcely concluded before Ferdinand king of Portugal died without sons, and left the crown open to the contentions of several pretenders, of whom John of Castile was undoubtedly the most formidable. The infants Diniz and John, the sons of Peter I. by Inez de Castro, do not appear to have had any strong party in the kingdom, and their claims were scarcely mentioned; but their half-brother John, master of the order of Avis, was extremely beloved, and almost unanimously called to the regency of the state, and entreated to oppose John of Castile, who was supported by the queen dowager. The Castilians had meanwhile entered Portugal and attacked Lisbon, but made little impression; and some dispute having arisen between them and the queen's party, they retreated at the end of the

season, but only to gather new forces for the ensuing spring.

But before the next campaign, the cortes of Portugal had met at Coimbra, and had offered the crown to John, the master of Avis. On this occasion, the jurist, Juan das Regras, represented to the assembly, that as the power of kings was originally conferred by the people for the public good, the people had of course a right to suspend or change the monarch when the interest of the monarchy required it; that, supposing Beatriz to be the right heiress, yet as her marriage with the king of Castile necessarily brought a stranger to partake her throne, the cortes had a title to supersede her, and proceed to the election of a native prince able to defend them and fit to govern them. John d'Avis was accordingly elected; and that nothing might be wanting to the popularity of this measure, it was asserted to be the will of Heaven, for that a babe of eight months old had thrice sat up in its cradle, and exclaimed, "Don John, king of Portugal!"

The enthusiasm of the nation in the cause of their national independence was such, that in a short time the most numerous army that had ever been collected in Portugal assembled under don John's banners. He marched to meet the Castilian king, who had despatched a fleet of twelve galleys and twenty ships to blockade Lisbon, and was advancing himself into Portugal at the head of a

prodigious force. The two armies met at Aljubarotta. The ground was disadvantageous to the Castilians, and their king was in so bad a state of health that he was obliged to be carried about the field in a litter; while the newly-elected monarch of Portugal, full of strength and vigour, rode before his soldiers cheering them on the way. The battle was obstinate and sanguinary; the Castilians were completely beaten. There perished on their side don Peter of Arragon, the son of the marquis of Villena; the king's two first cousins, John, son of don Tello, and Ferdinand, son of don Sancho; the admiral Tover, besides many other nobles, and the ambassador of France, who was in the field. King John escaped to Santerem, where he embarked, and sailed down the Tagus to join his fleet off Lisbon, whence he proceeded to Seville.

Immediately after the battle, John, master of Avis, was proclaimed anew on the field; the soldiers raised him on their shields, and gave him the name of father of his country, a title he never forfeited; and thenceforward, every year a solemn festival was celebrated in the church of Aljubarotta to commemorate the deliverance of the country from a foreign yoke.

While the king of Castile had been thus making fruitless efforts to obtain the crown of Portugal, the king of Arragon, though at a very advanced age, had contracted a new marriage with Sybilla de Forcia, a widow of great beauty. Her influence

with him occasioned several quarrels between him and his eldest son John. In consequence of one of these, Peter, by an unwonted act of imprudence, deprived John of the offices usually discharged in Arragon by the heir apparent of the kingdom; John appealed to the justiza, Dominic La Cerda, who granted him his protection until the cortes should assemble, when the cause was laid before them; and after their decision, the justiza, in their name, desired the king to restore his son to the lieutenancy of the kingdom, which was his undoubted right, and Peter cheerfully obeyed. Two years after this event Peter IV. died, after a reign of fifty-one years, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was surnamed the Ceremonious, on account of his punctilious observance of all points concerning the honour and dignity of the state. He was prudent, yet not wanting in generosity; a strict observer of truth, both in word and act. He was withal one of the most politic princes of the age, and achieved more for the aggrandizement of Arragon and the power of the crown than any of his predecessors. No less courageous and self-possessed under reverses than in the midst of success, he had the art of converting even misfortunes to his advantage. He was a great encourager of letters, and pursued with no mean success the study of astronomy and chemistry, or rather alchymy. He loved what was called the *gaye science*, or the songs and inventions of the troubadours; indeed some of the Spanish

historians think it necessary to apologize for the countenance afforded by so wise a monarch to these light accomplishments, by saying that it was to please the youthful court of his wife and children. But Peter himself had talent and taste for song and poetry, and encouraged them as well as the graver sciences, for which he founded schools in several parts of his kingdom. His person was small and delicate, his temper lively, and his manners polite and graceful.

In the same year died Charles II. king of Navarre. His son and successor of the same name had married a sister of the king of Castile, who on his attainment of the crown ceded to his brother-in-law several Navarrese towns which had been taken in the war of Henry of Trastamare.

In the meantime another war threatened Castile. John of Gaunt renewed the pretensions of his wife Constance to the crown; and the king of Portugal having married Philippa of Lancaster, John's daughter by a former marriage, engaged to assist his father-in-law against his old enemy of Castile. But before the duke of Lancaster took any active measures against John of Castile, a conference was held by commissioners from both parties, where the title of Constance to the crown of her father was examined, and the arguments employed to refute her claims were as follows. That she being descended only from don Sancho the Second, son of Alonzo the Wise, could have no

just pretensions to the crown while the descendants of the eldest son, Ferdinand de la Cerda, survived. The eldest son of Ferdinand had indeed renounced the crown solemnly, but the younger had not ceased to maintain his claim: now doña Juanna, the mother of John of Castile, was the direct heiress of the La Cerdas, and in her right John might have succeeded, even had his father not been chosen by the people, who alone had a right to confer the sovereignty. These points were publicly argued; but a secret negotiation was going on, which was at length happily concluded. By it Catherine the daughter of John of Gaunt, and Constance of Castile, was to be given in marriage to don Henry the son of John, and heir of the kingdom. In the meantime Philippa of Lancaster, the duke's daughter by a former wife, was married to John, the new king of Portugal. Thus was peace restored to both kingdoms, and the ambition of the duke of Lancaster for his daughters gratified, by placing one on the throne of Castile, and the other on that of Portugal. On the conclusion of the treaty, John of Gaunt sent to the king of Castile a crown of pure gold, which he had brought to Spain with the intention of being crowned himself with it; but he now professed that he felt greater pleasure in presenting it to his daughter's father-in-law than any he could have experienced in wearing it himself. From the time of the marriage of the young Henry with the

English princess, the heir apparent of Castile assumed the title of prince of Asturias.

By the intervention of the duke of Lancaster, a truce of six months was concluded with Portugal, in hopes that ere it expired an effective peace might be agreed on ; but at the end of the term the Portuguese attacked some towns in Galicia, and took others. The bishop of Toledo, and the grand master of Calatrava, marched to oppose the invaders ; by their conduct and prudence the progress of the enemy was stopped, and a truce of six years between the two crowns was solemnly concluded.

But John of Castile could not prevail on himself wholly to abandon the hopes of acquiring Portugal, and for this end he assembled the cortes in Guadalaxara, and proposed to resign the kingdoms of Castile and Leon to his son the prince of Asturias, and to retain only the towns of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, Murcia, and Biscay, so that the Portuguese no longer jealous of seeing their kingdom merge in that of Castile, might receive him and his wife Beatrice as the true heirs of the throne. This scheme, however, was rejected by the Castilian nobles, who wished not to see the kingdom divided, and who besides deprecated the leaving the government to a minor. All pretensions, therefore, to the succession of Portugal were from this time abandoned ; and an act of oblivion

was passed in favour of such as had been engaged in the public disturbances during the late war.

In the same cortes several regulations were introduced for the better management of the troops, who had been accustomed at the end of every campaign to disperse over the country, and live on the plunder of the inhabitants. A regular sum was now granted to the king for the maintenance of a body of men, to be kept always in readiness, and the number was limited to four thousand men at arms, fifteen hundred horse, and a thousand bowmen, with the necessary followers; and this was the first regular standing army allowed by the cortes to the kings of Castile. The subjects of Castile were at the same time forbidden to enter into the military service of any foreign state, in order that they might remain as useful citizens in their own country. Two other subjects of great importance were touched on in the cortes of Guadalaxara. These were, the power usurped by Rome of appointing foreigners to the bishoprics and other great benefices of the church of Spain, to the detriment of the natives of that country; and the practice of appointing mercenary priests, who were content with any stipend from a lay superior, while the tithes that should have maintained, not only the proper clergy, but the ecclesiastical buildings and schools, were retained in the hands of some powerful lay prince or baron. But so

many were found interested in this latter abuse, that the discussion dropped, and the church remained in that particular nearly as it was. As to the matter of laymen holding benefices, it was determined to enforce the decrees of the Lateran council on that head.

Ere the cortes had broken up, embassies from two kings arrived at Guadalaxara. The first was from Charles the new king of Navarre, desiring John to send him his wife, who, having been ill, had gone to Castile for the benefit of her native air, and on whose account he had deferred his coronation, in order that she might be crowned with him. But Leonor refused to go, and the ceremony was performed for Charles alone in Pamplona, according to the ancient usage of the kingdom. He was first anointed, then raised on a shield and shown to the people while they saluted him, and lastly crowned in the cathedral church. The second embassy to John was from the king of Grenada, desiring to prolong the truce between him and Castile; a desire which John was happy to gratify, as peace in that quarter peculiarly suited him at the moment.

John did not long survive these events. One morning in the month of October of the same year, 1390, being anxious to review some soldiers who had lately returned from Africa, where they had learned all the Saracenic modes of managing cavalry, in galloping over some ploughed fields,

his horse stumbled in one of the furrows, and threw him, when he was so severely hurt that he died in the course of the day, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twelfth of his reign. Very shortly before his death he had instituted a brotherhood in Segovia, whose insignia were a gold collar with a dove dependent from it. This and other expedients of the like nature were resorted to for the protection of the towns and people, oppressed by the robbers and freebooters that infested the country; whose numbers were kept up by disbanded soldiers, both Christians and Saracens, persecuted heretics, and idle pilgrims. The subdivision of Spain into separate kingdoms facilitated the depredations of these robbers; for, under pretence of being the subjects and soldiers of one king, they plundered the vassals of another, and ere redress could be claimed by the aggrieved party, the freebooters had already claimed another country.

The new king Henry III., commonly called the Invalid, on account of his delicate health, was only eleven years of age at his father's death. He was conducted to Madrid along with his brother don Ferdinand, by the archbishop Pedro Tenorio, and there proclaimed king, after which he received the homage of the grandees of the kingdom. By his father's will he was placed under the guardianship of Alonzo of Arragon marquis of Villena, of the archbishops of Toledo and Santiago, of don Juan

Alonzo de Guzman, don Pedro de Mendoza, and six citizens of the towns of Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Seville, Cordoba, and Murcia.

But the grandees not named in the will took offence at it, set it aside, and placed the power in the hands of the marquis of Villena, the duke of Benevent, and the count of Trastamare, the two archbishops, and the grand masters of the orders of Santiago and Calatrava. The natural consequences of so numerous a regency followed, continual disputes arose, the people complained of oppression, and the laws were carelessly administered, while the government was distracted by the personal quarrels of its members. Among other disorders, a frightful massacre of the Jews took place, said to have arisen solely from the hatred of the common people, but too certainly suggested by the fanatic priests, and the greedy petty nobles who shared in their spoils. Meantime, John the new king of Arragon was engaged in some disputes with his subjects. His mother-in-law Sybilla Forcia, and her brother, with some others, had been accused of poisoning the late king Peter IV. Sybilla was accordingly shut up in prison for life, and the estates of all the suspected conspirators were confiscated ; but it was believed that the estates which the late king, at his wife's suggestion, had endowed them with, were the real causes of the accusations brought against them. John was of too tranquil a temper to pursue the matter very

far, and having removed Sybilla from court, and reannexed to the crown those possessions which had been alienated in her favour, he received her friends again as usual.

His own court soon became the resort of all that was elegant and all that was luxurious in that age. He was himself a poet, and inherited all his father's taste for polite literature. He invited the Troubadours to settle in Barcelona, or rather he formed of the principal nobility, many of whom were themselves Troubadours, a court, which was regulated by certain laws, but at whose entertainments minstrels, strollers, and buffoons were admitted. This gave great offence to the graver part of the grandees, and at length, while the king was occupied holding the cortes at Monzon, an union of the nobles took place at Calasanz, when they insisted on a regulation of the expenses of the palace, and on the removal of donna Carroza de Vilaragar, whose favour with the queen, and consequent influence over the king, was unlimited. John readily and cheerfully complied with the wishes of the nobles, and though he did by no means discontinue his protection of letters, he set bounds to the expenditure of his household, and no longer received within the palace persons offensive to the prejudices of his people. He had shortly afterwards an opportunity of wiping off the stain of effeminacy, of which he had been accused. Bernard of Armagnac, and his brother the count of that name,

landed on the coasts of Catalonia with a numerous host of Bretons, and plundered Ampurias and Gerona, setting fire to the small towns and villages, driving the cattle, carrying off prisoners, and ravaging the country around. But John marched to repel them at one point, while Ramon Buges of Cavanés drove off a considerable body and took their captain prisoner at another. Bernardo de Cabrera overcame eight companies, and the rest retired, after some desperate actions, to Roussillon, which they plundered: the count of Armagnac being called upon to defend his own estates, which had been attacked during his absence, Arragon was delivered from the invaders, and peace was completely restored.

In the same year, 1391, died Muhammad king of Grenada, beloved and regretted by his subjects, and honourably mourned for even by his enemies. He was succeeded by his son Abu Abdalla Yusef, a lover of peace like his father, who as soon as the ceremony of his inauguration was over, despatched messengers to the king of Castile, offering a renewal of the truce existing between the late king and Henry. To make them the more welcome he sent several Christian captives, whom he set free without ransom, and six handsome horses richly caparisoned. The king of Castile was extremely gratified by the message and presents, and the desired truce was immediately concluded.

The reign of Yusef was short, and the beginning

of it was troubled by a domestic rebellion. He had four sons, all men of character and accomplishment. Yusef the elder was of a gentle and peaceable disposition like his father, but Muhammad the second was of a gay, volatile, and warlike temper, full of ambition, and longing to distinguish himself in battle against the Christians. Aided by some of those persons who are always ready on such occasions, in hopes of rising amid civil disturbances, he spread reports among the people that Yusef's great generosity towards the Christians proceeded from his secret apostasy from his own faith, and that the favour shown to the noble refugees from Castile and other Christian countries was an injury and an insult to Mahomet. The mob of Grenada, inflamed by these representations, assembled in the square before the Alhambra, and demanded the deposition of Yusef and the election of a true believer in his stead, naming the prince Muhammad. This disturbance might probably have ended in a civil war, had not the ambassador from Fez, a man much respected for his wisdom and prudence, appeared and harangued the people. He represented to them the folly and wickedness of the reports spread amongst them, the wretchedness of civil war, and the impiety of dethroning a father in order to set his son in his place. He then recommended an expedition against the Christians, in which all parties should join, with their king at their head, as an employment much more

worthy of Moorish courage than the waste of their resources in a civil war. The suggestion was unanimously approved, the mob separated with acclamations in favour of Yusef, and he, much against his inclination, was thus forced to lead a predatory expedition into the country of his ally. But the war ended with the campaign. It would not have suited either party to have continued hostilities, and Yusef eagerly received the proposals for peace which were made by the temporary government of Castile.

The truce was however next broken by the grand master of Alcantara, Martin Yanez de la Berbuda, a fanatic who had allowed himself to be persuaded by a hermit that it had been revealed that he should achieve great victories over the Moors, and thereby acquire much renown and a powerful kingdom. Yanez flattered himself that the kingdom meant was that of Grenada, and he accordingly sent messengers to invite Yusef to single combat, or, if he liked better, he offered to bring ten, twenty, or a hundred Christians to an open list, and there meet double the number of Moors. Yusef ridiculed the messengers, and sent them back to the grand master, who, full of rage at the contempt evinced for his challenge, resolved to invade the kingdom, though his only force at that time was such knights of the order as he could collect. But the name of religion is naturally powerful, and Yanez made use

of it. He published a kind of crusade against the Moors, and a band of between five and six thousand adventurers was soon at his disposal. He led them into the plain of Grenada, where they were met by the king with a very superior force; but Yanez would not yield, and an obstinate battle was fought. Of the mounted knights and men at arms, not one of the companions of the grand master survived; they were found dead in their places, with Yanez at their head, and not one had received a wound in the back. The body of the grand master was given by Yusef to the Christians, who buried him in Alcantara. The king of Grenada sent to Henry to complain of this breach of the truce by the grand master, but easily accepted Henry's excuse, imputing the whole blame to the fanatic disposition of Yanez, and peace was once more restored between the countries.

The next year, 1395, Yusef died at Grenada, poisoned, as it was said, by an envenomed vest presented to him by the king of Fez, which caused exceeding pain for thirty days: but some of the Moorish writers say that he had been ill long before the arrival of the vest, and died of some natural complaint.

The intrigues of prince Muhammad procured his nomination to the crown, instead of his elder brother Yusef, even before his father's burial; and the first act of his reign was to perform the funeral with unwonted splendour, in the Generalife,

a lower fortress of Grenada, and the second to imprison his brother in the fort of Xalubania, where, however, he was royally served and attended, and had the comfort of his family around him.

Muhammad was handsome, lively, and brave, and had used these popular qualities to gain the affections of the people. But he feared that his irregular title to the crown might afford a pretence for the king of Castile, as an ancient and faithful ally of his father, to attack him in behalf of his elder brother. He therefore chose twenty-five of his bravest horsemen, and with them rode incognito to Toledo, where, in a personal interview with the king, he obtained their approbation of his conduct, and renewed the treaties existing in his father's time. He returned to Grenada before it was known whither he had gone.

Meanwhile Henry the young king of Castile had taken the government into his own hands. To gratify the people of Biscay, he went into that province to receive their homage according to their ancient usages, and on his return he met the cortes assembled at Madrid, wherein he announced to them his assumption of the government, extolled the conduct of the late regents, and asked for supplies to carry on the business of the state, and more particularly to guard the Moorish frontier. At the conclusion of the cortes his nuptials with Catherine of Lancaster were celebrated, and also those of his brother don Ferdinand with Leonor,

heiress of Albuquerque, commonly called the Rich Lady, who had been betrothed to him before, but whose marriage was not to take place if Henry died before the age of fourteen, in which case Ferdinand was to espouse Catherine, who in either event was to be queen of Castile. The rejoicings on account of the double wedding were soon interrupted, for the plague broke out in Madrid, and the court was suddenly obliged to leave that city. There is little material to record in the history of Castile for some years. The youth of the king probably prevented him from exercising the authority necessary to quell the contentious spirit of the nobles, whose private dissensions were even more mischievous to the country than foreign wars; yet upon the whole the people were more tranquil and prosperous.

In Arragon the sudden death of the accomplished, the indolent John, who was killed while hunting a wolf of enormous size, produced a change in the government. His two daughters were married to foreign princes, and he had no son; he therefore left his crown to his brother don Martin, whom the Arragonese very much preferred to a foreign prince; and though the husbands of the princesses, supported by their mother, objected to Martin's succession, the people maintained his claim, and he was recalled from Sicily, where he was endeavouring to tranquillize the country, to succeed to his brother's throne, but before he could reach

Arragon the count of Foix, who had married the eldest daughter of king John, had been repulsed by the army under the direction of the cortes; and by the time Martin arrived from Sicily and from Sardinia, where he had touched, he found the kingdom in a state of tranquillity, and was very shortly crowned in Zaragoza with his queen. Two years afterwards their daughter-in-law Mary, queen of Sicily in her own right, died, and her husband the infant don Martin, being the nearest male heir in right of his grandmother, succeeded her, and married Blanche of Navarre, the daughter of Charles, who in the sequel inherited her father's kingdom.

The general tranquillity of all parts of Spain now continued for some years. The schism between the two popes, which had caused some differences in Castile, was so far at an end that Benedict was acknowledged by all parties in Spain; and the succession of the family of Henry of Trastamare seemed so secure, that the two surviving representatives of Peter the Cruel were set at liberty, if it can be so called; for they were taken by queen Catherine from the fortress where they had been confined, and one, a girl, had entered a nunnery, where Catherine paid her a handsome dowry, and the other, a boy, when taken from his prison, was dressed in a monk's frock, and placed behind the queen's curtains when she lay-in of her first son, so that when the king came in after seeing his child, the grandson of Peter was presented to him.

He received him graciously at Catherine's request, provided nobly for his education, and he became afterwards bishop of Valencia.

The king did not long survive the birth of his son. The cortes being assembled at Toledo in the beginning of 1407, Henry, who had hoped to preside in person, was taken dangerously ill, and deputed his brother don Ferdinand, whose discretion was well known, to sit in his place. Ere the business of the assembly was half over, Henry died, to the great regret of his subjects, not only on account of the sincere love they bore to him, but because they dreaded a recurrence of the evils of a minority, from which they had so frequently and severely suffered. Henry was only twenty-seven years of age, having reigned sixteen. He was gentle, affable, and liberal, with a countenance that was pleasing until disfigured by illness. The following story is told by Mariana as a proof of his prudence and resolution. When he first, as a boy, took on him the administration of public affairs, he liked to reside in Burgos on account of the chase, particularly that of quails. One day he had staid out late at his favourite sport, and on coming home was displeased to find that no dinner was ready. His purveyor assured him that the royal coffers were so exhausted that they did not afford the means of providing a dinner. "Well then," said the king, "cook the game I have brought home, and serve it up." The purveyor shortly appeared with the dish, and waited himself, instead of the ordinary

pages, and while the king dined he talked with him, and among other things Henry learned that it was not thus the grandees lived, and that that very day a great supper was given by the archbishop of Toledo. As soon as the hour appointed for the supper arrived, the king putting on a disguise, went to the archiepiscopal palace, and sitting down on a bench near the door listened attentively to the conversation carried on at table. The archbishop set the example, and all in turn boasted of the extent of their revenue, and especially that part of it which was derived from the royal treasury. Henry having satisfied himself, retired unobserved as he had entered, and returning to the palace desired all the grandees to be called for, as he was so ill that he was about to make his will. They instantly attended; but as they entered, the king, who had prepared for the occasion, caused every one of their attendants to be turned out of the palace, and desired them to wait in the great hall until he should be ready to receive them.

After spending half an hour in expectation of a message, they were astonished at seeing Henry enter, apparently in good health, armed from head to foot, and with his drawn sword in his hand: they assembled round him to learn the cause of his extraordinary summons, when he turned fiercely to them, and desired each to tell him how many kings he had remembered in Castile. One answered three, another four, another five, according to their age; when he exclaimed, "How can that be? for I,

young as I am, have seen no less than twenty." Then stamping with his foot, his guards entered and surrounded the astonished grandees, whom he ordered to be secured, as men too powerful and dangerous to the state by their riches and followers, while their king had not in his royal coffers the means to spread a table, or any attendant at his meals but his butler, who was at the same time his cook.

On this the archbishop of Toledo fell on his knees, acknowledged the depredations which he and his colleagues had made on the royal domains; nor did Henry raise him, nor release the others, until they had formally resigned the lands and appointments they had usurped during the regency.



Costume of Biscay.

The latter part of the fourteenth century is remarkable for the number and value of the men who applied themselves to letters, and whose writings, in the different countries of Europe, polished and fixed the languages of the South, and did much towards refining the dialects of the North. Spain was far from being last in the race of literature. The Moors had indeed declined from the high station they had filled two centuries before; not that they had become illiterate; but with the strength of their empire their ardent pursuit of science had diminished: their poets wrote little besides panegyrics and ballads, and their historians fell far short of the manly and simple taste which had distinguished the chroniclers of the Omeyad caliphs. Abdalla Alchaṭib Assalami, called the vizir Lizan Eddin, however, has left a full account of the reign of his master, Muhammad V., and his transactions with Peter the Cruel; and other writers of considerable merit continued the history of Grenada after his death. Peter himself is said often to have consulted, and sometimes to have profited by, the wisdom of the learned and noble Moor, Benahatem, whose letters, preserved by Mariana, if authentic, do him the greatest honour.

Among the Christian writers, don Pedro de Ayala, the author of the Chronicles of Peter the Cruel, Henry II., John I., and the first years of Henry III., was high chancellor of Castile, and had taken part in most of the transactions he

relates. Several of the churchmen of the times distinguished themselves in the same kind of writing. But the great improvement of the Castilian tongue, at this period, is owing to the poets and romance writers, whose works are written in a style singularly free from provincial or foreign terms.

Don Juan de la Cerda, a descendant of Alonzo the Wise, is considered as an excellent poet by the marquess of Santilana, whose grandfather, Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, was his cotemporary and rival in talent. Pero was master of the household to Henry of Trastamare, and a man of renown both in war and peace. Many popular songs were of his writing, some of which still continue in favour with the Castilians. He was killed in the battle of Aljuburotta, in the reign of John.

But one of the most remarkable poets in this period was a Jew, commonly called the Holy Rabbi, *rabbi santo*, who appears to have possessed the art of versifying to perfection. His real name has not been preserved; but he was so revered in his own times that his countrymen named him *Rabbi Akados*, or holy rabbi, in memory of Jehudi Anasi, the compiler of the Talmud, who flourished about twelve centuries before. He is believed, however, to have been the same with don Moses, the surgeon of the king of Castile. His most singular poem is called the *Danza General*, or Universal Dance, in which all classes of men must figure. Death is introduced moralizing on the vain and

fleeting nature of human life, and, in verses like the octaves of the Italian poets, he calls upon each class to join his final and inevitable dance. His first summons is to two young girls. He says,

Bring presently to my dance
These two damsels you see so fair :
They come very unwillingly
To hear my doleful songs :
But neither shall their roses avail them,
Nor the gay vestments they used to put on,
Nor their will to avoid me if they could :—
It cannot be—they are my brides *.

Next to the Rabbi in poetic fame are don Alonzo Gonzales de Castro, and the archdeacon of Toro, who wrote not only several popular songs in pure Castilian, but also some in the Gallego or Portuguese dialect.

Don Garci Fernandez de Gevena flourished early in the reign of Henry III., when the Castilian poets became so numerous that it would appear that every knight about the court became a versifier; but among the crowd Alonzo Alvarez de Villasandino was most praised by his cotemporaries, not only as a writer and compiler of songs, but as a narrator of tales and romances. Micer, or monsieur, Francisco Imperial, was a Genoese in the service of

* The subject of Death's Dance appears to have been very early a favourite one. The church of the Holy Innocents at Paris was painted long before the print called Holbein's Dance of Death appeared, and it is believed that the figures on the cloisters of the ancient church of St. Paul's in London, burnt in 1666, were copied from it. The poem of the Rabbi Santo evidently refers to a subject already popular.

king Henry III., who adopted Spain as his country, and wrote some songs in its language. He lived beyond this period, which may be considered as the first of Castilian poetry, when the soil being yet new, every labourer found something worth his trouble who cultivated it in any degree.

The singular poem of Juan Ruiz, the arch-priest of Hita, finished about 1370, is a satire on all classes of his cotemporaries, especially the monastic orders, both male and female, and the attendants of a court. But of all the literary men of this time none was more distinguished than don Henry of Arragon, marquess of Villena, whose father was killed at the battle of Aljuburotta. He was so eager in his studies, and so desirous of knowledge, that the vulgar attributed to him a knowledge of necromancy. Some of his works have been preserved, and bear marks of great acuteness of understanding as well as vast learning. His friend and cotemporary don Paul of Carthagená was a learned Jew, whose eager desire of knowledge led him to study the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, which so affected him that he was baptised and entered the Christian church, where his zealous preaching soon raised him to eminence, and he became first bishop of his native city, then chancellor of Castile, and finally was intrusted with the education of the young king John II.

Considerable improvements were also made in the useful arts during this period; the first clock to which a bell was attached to strike the hours was

erected in Seville in the year 1400. The Castilians began to improve their manufactures of wool, and even to export a good deal of that material. Few nations could at this time rival the Spaniards in their seamen and ships, particularly those of Biscay, where the nature of the coast, the rough sea that bathes it, and the fishing which, from time immemorial, has been carried on there, naturally forms hardy and expert sailors. But these sailors as naturally become pirates in times of political disturbance; accordingly the Biscayans were infamous as corsairs, and dreaded on every coast in Europe. Twice during the reign of Edward III. of England did they sail up the Channel, and alarm the coasts of Hampshire and Sussex; but in an action of some length they were beaten, near the Isle of Wight, with considerable loss.



Three figures from an ancient print.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JOHN II., A. D. 1406, TO
THAT OF HENRY IV. 1454.



Two Costumes—Malorca.

THE premature death of Henry III. left the throne of Castile to an infant of twenty-two months old. The prospect of a long minority, under a woman, and a stranger, Catherine of Lancaster, naturally alarmed the grandees of the kingdom. They therefore, after some deliberation, deputed Ruy

Lopez Davalos, the high constable of the kingdom, to offer the throne to the infant don Ferdinand, whose character and conduct had secured the love and reverence of the whole nation. But he disdained the thought of injuring his orphan nephew, and severely answered the constable, that there could be no successor to the monarchy but his brother's son: that, for himself, he considered it his duty to assist in protecting the young king in the government of the kingdom; and that he should devote himself to the maintenance of good order and promoting the general welfare.

The young king was at that time at Segovia, with his mother and two infant sisters: thither don Ferdinand and the rest of the grandees repaired, and John II. was solemnly proclaimed. By his father's will, the queen and don Ferdinand were appointed regents of the kingdom; the care of the king's person was to be committed to Diego Lopez de Zuniga and Juan de Velasco, and that of his education to don Pablo de Cartagena, bishop of Avila. But in one respect Ferdinand departed from his brother's will: moved by the entreaties of Catherine, he allowed the little king to remain entirely under her care, and gave to the two nobles, appointed guardians by the late king's will, a sum of money as some recompense for the disappointment they experienced in being deprived of so important a charge.

The year after the proclamation of John, the

cortes met at Guadalaxara to settle some disputes that had arisen among the principal persons of the kingdom; but the most remarkable event that occurred at that session was the first appearance of don Alvaro de Luna. That young nobleman was of the family of Luna, a noble house of Arragon. His grandfather had received Henry of Trastamare nobly, and furnished him with the means of flight to Avignon, after the battle of Naxara. This family had produced many remarkable men, and among the rest pope Benedict XIII., whose obstinate retention of the tiara, after he had been solemnly deposed, caused so many feuds in Christendom. Several persons of the house of Luna, encouraged by his elevation, had entered the church; and when Alvaro de Luna first appeared at the Castilian court, his uncle don Pedro de Luna was archbishop of Toledo, and several of his nephews and cousins filled high places in the church. The archbishop at first intended that don Alvaro should likewise take orders; but at a very early age he manifested so strong a desire to become a soldier, and a courtier, that his uncle educated him accordingly, and presented him, when of a proper age, to the queen-mother. His youth, his comeliness, his cheerful and gracious manners, so won on the young king, that he was never happy unless Alvaro was present; and as he possessed all the knightly accomplishments of the time, Catherine readily appointed him to attend the person of her son.

The general affairs of the kingdom were in the meantime conducted with the greatest prudence by Ferdinand, who, in order to employ the restless activity of the Castilian nobles, undertook a campaign against the Moors. The preparations were formidable both by sea and land; at sea the admiral don Alonzo Euriquez gained a signal victory, but the expedition by land was less successful, and the season passed away in unimportant skirmishes, though Ferdinand on setting out from Seville had armed himself with the sword of St. Ferdinand in hopes of achieving some signal victory over the infidels.

While Ferdinand was employed in the conscientious discharge of his duty to his nephew, and the care of his kingdom, a crown awaited him, which had by degrees arisen to equal importance with that of Castile.

Martin, king of Arragon, had only one son by his first wife, dona Maria de Luna, sister to the antipope Benedict XIII. The young prince, whose name was also Martin, had distinguished himself in the wars of Sardinia, and was king of Sicily in right of his first wife Maria, the daughter and heiress of Frederick II. Martin died of a fever at Cagliari, in 1409, leaving the government of Sicily to his second wife, Blanche, daughter of Charles III. king of Navarre, and naming his father as his heir. Soon after his son's death, Martin of Arragon married donna Maria de Prades, one of the most

beautiful women of her time, but he died the following year without children, and without formally naming his successor, though he is said to have spoken in private of Ferdinand of Castile, his sister's son, as his nearest relation, and the most proper successor to the crown. But there were many competitors for the throne, of whom the principal were the count of Lune, the natural son of Martin king of Sicily, Mathew count of Foix, Alfonso duke of Gandia, James count of Nigel, and the marquis of Villena, but most of them were foreign princes, married to the nieces or cousins of the late king; two of them actually began to exercise some kind of authority in the kingdom. The grandees of Arragon resented this assumption of power, and the Cortes assembled at Caspe with little division elected Ferdinand, though it was not until 1412 that he actually took possession of the thrones of Arragon and Sicily. The count of Nigel was the only one of the competitors who refused to do homage to Ferdinand. But his opposition was of little avail, for the new king marched to Balaguer, where the count had fortified himself, and after a short siege took him prisoner, and detained him in captivity during the rest of his life.

Freed from all opposition by his victory over the count of Nigel, Ferdinand was crowned at Zaragoza in 1414. The only disturbance of consequence that agitated Arragon at that time arose from the obstinacy of the antipope Pedro de Luna,

otherwise Benedict XIII., who, although the council of Constance had decreed that all the contending popes should lay down their titles, and had even deposed the rightful father of the church, John XXIII., in order if possible to procure the peace of Christendom, and wipe away the scandal brought on the church by the pretensions of so many to the tiara, still refused to comply with the decrees of the council and the entreaties of his friends. Ferdinand endeavoured, by every act of persuasion, to prevail on him to resign the papacy, but in vain; and at length, though reluctantly, the king was obliged to give up his party, and withdraw his obedience from him, after having accompanied him to Perpignan to meet the emperor, whose influence he hoped might induce Benedict to conform to the decrees of the council, and the wishes of all the Christian world. At length, abandoned by all his followers and friends, Benedict retired to Penescola, and there, maintaining within his family his ancient titles and dignities, he died a few years afterwards.

Sicily was disturbed, in the meantime, by the ambition of a nobleman named Caprera. Ferdinand had on his accession continued the government to Blanche, the widow, of Martin the younger, with the title of vice-queen; but he had appointed eight vice-gerents to assist in the regulation of the state. Caprera was not named among these, but hoped to supersede them all by

a marriage with Blanche, which old, ugly, and deformed as he was, he proposed. Her indignant refusal so exasperated him, that he took up arms against her. The war, however, was speedily put an end to; but Blanche, disgusted with her situation, retired to Navarre, where she shortly afterwards contracted a second marriage.

Ferdinand's reign was short, but he had time to gain the entire love and reverence of his new subjects, as completely as he had done those of the Castilians. He had never entirely abandoned the care of his nephew's interests, with whom a double tie connected him; for John was betrothed to Ferdinand's daughter Maria, and the infant Alonzo of Arragon married the sister of John, an alliance which had been projected during the lifetime of Henry III.

Ferdinand was married but once; and his wife Leonora de Guzman, though some years older than himself, survived him. She was an orphan, and consequently the ward of the king in the time of Henry III. Her possessions were so ample, that she was known at the court of Castile by no other name than that of the rich lady. Her person and manners were pleasing, and she was sought in marriage by some of the highest grandees, as well as by several foreign princes. But she was betrothed to don Ferdinand when he was only ten years of age, and she about eighteen, with this condition, that if king Henry, Ferdinand's elder brother, died before he attained the age of fourteen,

Ferdinand should be at liberty to marry Catherine of Lancaster, and dona Leonora to contract another alliance. Ferdinand had by this lady four sons and two daughters: his sons were, Alonzo, who succeeded him; John, who by his marriage with Blanche, the daughter of Charles III., became king of Navarre; and the infants Henry and Peter. His eldest daughter Maria married John II., king of Castile; the second, Leonora, married don Duarte, infant of Portugal.

The death of Ferdinand happened in 1416, when he was succeeded by his son Alonzo the magnanimous on the thrones both of Arragon and Sicily. Alonzo's first care after his accession was to settle the ecclesiastical affairs in both countries; but finding that the new pope Martin V. was resolved to resume the custom of bestowing the great benefices of Arragon and Sicily at will upon strangers, a practice which had been renounced by the latter popes, and also that he refused to grant him the investiture of Sicily, he once more restored the title of pope to Pedro de Luna, who was willing to purchase it at the price of any concession. Martin, alarmed at this step, consented to wave his claim to the nomination of the bishop in Alonzo's dominions, and granted the investiture, though with a bad grace, as he had espoused the interest of the Neapolitan princes of the house of Anjou, who laid claim to Sicily as well as to Naples and Calabria.

Alonzo shortly after receiving the investiture of the island, resolved to visit it and reform several abuses that had gained ground under the deputed governors in his father's reign. In the month of February 1420, he made his solemn entrance into Palermo, and held a general assembly of the Sicilian states, where he received the homage of the people, and promised in return to observe the laws and privileges of the kingdom. From Palermo he sailed to Corsica, then belonging to the Genoese, who had committed several acts of piracy on the coasts of Sicily, and thereby exceedingly exasperated the king. His fleet consisted of thirty galleys and fourteen storeships, with which he attacked and took Calvi, and soon afterwards besieged Bonifacio, whence however he was forced shortly afterwards to retire with some loss, by the brother of the doge of Genoa.

While Alonzo lay before Bonifacio, Jane II. queen of Naples sent a secret message to him by Malise Carraccioli, to implore his assistance against Louis III. of Anjou, who, supported by Martin V., quitted Paris, the only place where his or his father's title to the crown of Naples had ever been acknowledged, and prepared by force of arms to take actual possession of the kingdom.

Jane, the sister of the late king Ladislaus, and daughter of Charles III., king of Naples and Hungary, was at this time forty years of age, and was separated from her second husband James of Bour-

bon. She had been first married to the duke of Austria, who died before her accession to the throne. Her character was in the highest degree licentious, and she had given such disgust to James of Bourbon, that he shortly after his marriage imprisoned her in her own palace, and by his extreme harshness towards her brought on his own ruin. The Neapolitans were not only enraged at his treatment of their queen, but jealous of the crowds of Frenchmen that flocked to Naples, and on whom every office of state was conferred; a party was therefore formed in favour of Jane, who escaped from the palace, having obtained permission to dine in one of her country seats: the people surrounded her, and at their head she marched to the Castel del Ovo, where James then was, and insisted on his renouncing the title of king, and dismissing all the French but forty, who surrounded him. Having gained this advantage, she continued to persecute him until he retired to France, where he adopted the habit of St. Francis, and died at Besançon a few years afterwards.

While Jane's messenger was actually negotiating with Alonzo, and promising as the price of his assistance that Jane would adopt him, and make him heir to her kingdom, another embassy from Louis of Anjou arrived to entreat the assistance of the arms of Arragon against the queen, or at least to secure Alonzo's neutrality. But that prince had already taken measures for the assistance

of Jane, and immediately sent eighteen vessels, commanded by Raymond Peralta, to Naples, and declared war against the Angevin prince. The queen immediately convoked an assembly of the states, solemnly adopted Alonzo, and conferred on him the title of duke of Calabria, which was used by the heirs apparent to the throne of Naples.

Alonzo himself reached Naples the next year, and was received with extravagant demonstrations of joy by the queen and people, and soon became absolute director of the affairs of the kingdom. This was regarded with jealousy by Carracciouli, Jane's seneschal, and he resolved to excite distrust between her and her adopted son. His first step was to prompt her to withhold the principality of Capua from the celebrated Braccio, a soldier of fortune, whom Alonzo had engaged with his bands to serve against the Angevins, on condition of receiving that principality in feof, and whose powerful assistance was necessary to oppose the forces of Sforzo Attendolo, another famous captain, hired by the duke of Anjou. Braccio perceiving Sforzo's equality in arms to himself, had the address to detach him from the duke, and bring him over to Alonzo, on condition of receiving Manfredonia; and this accession to the king of Arragon's strength increased the jealousy and distrust which Carracciouli had begun to inspire into the queen. Matters soon proceeded to such extremities, that a war took place between the parties, and in the year

1423, the capricious Jane revoked her adoption of Alonzo, and substituted the duke of Anjou, who had fled before the arms of Arragon and taken refuge in Rome.

But Alonzo paid no attention to this act of the queen, and continued to direct the affairs of Naples as before, until he was recalled to Spain by some important domestic occurrences. He left his brother, the infant Peter, with the title of viceroy, to govern Naples and Sicily in his absence, and sailed for Barcelona; but contrary winds having obliged him to put into Villa Franca, he learned that the town of Marseilles, then belonging to the duke of Anjou, was ill defended, and immediately attacked and plundered it, carrying off amongst other booty the body of Saint Louis, bishop of Thoulouse.

While Castile was struggling with the evils of a long minority, and the king of Arragon was engaged in foreign acquisitions, the Moors of Grenada had again changed their sovereign.

Muhammed VII. had succeeded his father on the throne, although he had an elder brother named Yusef, whom he had shut up as a prisoner in the tower of Xalabania. Muhammed being attacked by an incurable disorder, and desirous to secure the succession to the crown for his son, resolved on putting Yusef to death; for he feared the influence his talents and qualities gave him with the people. He accordingly wrote to the Alcayde of Xalubania as follows: "Alcayde of Xalubania,

my servant! as soon as thou shalt receive these, by the hand of my messenger Ahmad ben Xerac, thou shalt put my brother the lord Yusef to death, and send me his head by Ahmad himself." When the messenger arrived, he found prince Yusef and the alcaide seated on rich carpets, embroidered with gold, and supported by silken cushions, as became a prince, and playing at chess. As soon as the alcaide read the letter, his countenance became troubled, and he trembled violently, for Yusef was very much beloved, and the alcaide had become exceedingly attached to him.

As soon as the prince saw the state into which he was thrown on receiving the letter, he said to him, what does that letter contain? an order for my death? Then the alcaide gave him the letter, which when he had read he said, "Give me a few hours to take leave of my family, and set my affairs in order?" but the messenger declared he might not wait, for that his orders were positive to return with his head. Yusef then begged leave to finish his game of chess, and sat down to continue it with calmness, and indeed won it; for the alcaide was so perturbed that he mistook the pieces he had to move. Just as they were rising, and Yusef was preparing his neck for the executioner, a second messenger from Grenada arrived, with news that Muhammed had died suddenly, and saluting Yusef as king, entreated him to repair immediately to the capital, where the people were anxiously expecting him.

As soon as the prince had recovered from the surprise this second messenger had occasioned, he set off with several Moorish chiefs who had followed the messenger, to salute and bring home their king; and on their approach to Grenada they were met by all the knights and gentlemen of the city; the streets were adorned with arches of triumph and strewed with flowers, and the walls were hung with cloth of gold and silk; and Yusef, who but a few hours before had been condemned to death, was now brought in amidst the acclamations of the people, to reign on his father's throne.

His first act was to send his friend Abdalla Alamin to Castile, to communicate his accession, and to renew the truce with king John for two years. Abdalla carried with him rich presents of horses and armour, with webs of cloth of gold and tissue. The time of the truce being passed, Yusef sent his brother the Cid Aly to negotiate a further continuance of it; but the conditions proposed by Castile were considered as so unreasonable, that the Cid Aly returned without agreeing to any thing, and shortly afterwards the regent don Ferdinand made that expedition against Grenada which we have already mentioned.

While the short war of Ferdinand was going on, the inhabitants of Gibraltar, among whom were many African families, being oppressed by their governors, offered their cities to Abu Said, king of Fez, who immediately sent his brother, named also

Abu Said, with a thousand men to occupy it. No sooner was this transaction known in Grenada than the prince Cid Ahmed advanced against the place, and soon recovered it, taking Abu Said prisoner. On conducting his illustrious captive to Grenada, he behaved to him as to an honoured guest. Yusef, who had known misfortune, took care to prevent his feeling his unhappy situation, and when afterwards the king of Fez would have caused him to be murdered, he took him under his protection, presented him with a house and gardens near his own, and treated him as a brother. Abu Said became king of Fez in the sequel, and displayed the gratitude of a noble nature in his conduct towards the king of Grenada.

Soon after Ferdinand's campaign, Yusef found means to renew his treaty with Castile, with whose king he remained at peace during the remainder of his life. It is curious that the Moorish history mentions, not only that his court was the asylum for all such gentlemen of Castile and Arragon as fancied themselves aggrieved at home, but that whenever any of the Christian knights had an affair of honour to settle, Yusef allowed them open lists, and a fair field to do their combats. On these occasions he was generally the judge of the lists, and his disposition was so peaceful, and his judgment so much respected, that he had often the pleasure of preventing bloodshed, and sending those away friends who had come to him as enemies. He was re-

spected and beloved both by his subjects and by strangers. Catherine of Lancaster had so high an opinion of his wisdom that she kept up a constant correspondence with him, and advised the king, her son, always to cultivate his friendship. But this excellent prince died suddenly, but a few years after his accession, and left the crown to Muley Muhammed Nazar Aben Yusef, his son, surnamed the left-handed, either from a bodily defect, or from the untoward circumstances of his fortune. As soon as Yusef's funeral rites had been performed in the Generalife, where his ancestors were all buried, he convoked all the principal persons from the towns and villages of his dominions, for the purpose of his solemn inauguration. In his desire to remain at peace with the Christians and the Moors of Africa he resembled his father, but he fell far short of him in other parts of his conduct and character. His pride and haughtiness became insupportable to the Moorish chiefs, while the austerity with which he forbade the jousts, tournaments, and other martial exercises and amusements, in which the young nobility were wont to delight, rendered him unpopular with all ranks. The only man of consequence that adhered firmly to him was the great Yusef Aben Zeragh, Cadi of Grenada and Visir; the first of that family, which, under the name of *Abencerrage*, has been the subject of so many beautiful romances, as well as of some romantic incidents in real history. The prudence and authority

of this able minister for some time maintained Muley Muhammed on the throne; but at length a popular insurrection placed the first cousin of Muhammed the left-handed, called Muhammed el Zaquir, in his stead, and forced him to fly in the disguise of a fisherman to Africa, where he was honourably received by the king of Tunis, while the whole of Aben Zeragh's family was obliged to leave Grenada, and withdraw secretly into Murcia.

But Muhammed el Zaquir, though at first he sought and obtained some popularity by relaxing the rigour of his predecessor with regard to public amusements, soon displayed a tyranny and cruelty of disposition that taught his subjects to regret their former king. The wish for his return was scarcely found, when means were taken to bring him back. The king of Castile, on being applied to, promised to assist in restoring the lawful heir to the throne. The king of Fez warmly embraced his cause, and from Oran an expedition was sent, which immediately gained possession of Vera and Almeria; and when Muhammed Zaquir marched from Grenada to oppose it, most of his soldiers left him, and joined their former king. Cadiz next declared for Muhammed the left-handed, and there being joined by many of the principal knights of Grenada, he was encouraged to march to the capital, which, with the exception of the Alhambra, where Muhammed Zaquir had fortified himself,

instantly surrendered. But even that stronghold yielded in a few days, and the brave usurper was taken and beheaded, after a reign of little more than two years.

No sooner was Muley Muhammed seated anew on the throne of Grenada than he recalled the Aben Zeraghs, and endeavoured to procure a treaty for a lasting peace with Castile; but John would agree to nothing but a truce, and his demands even for that were so extravagant, that the negotiation failed altogether.

We must now return to the affairs of Castile. The marriage of John with his cousin, Maria of Arragon, was proposed during the life of her father, Ferdinand, but opposed by Catherine of Lancaster, partly from jealousy of the great influence the family of Arragon already possessed in Castile, and partly because she preferred her own niece, Leonor of Portugal, for a daughter-in-law. Her death, in 1418, terminated the contention on that head, and John married the infanta of Arragon, and assumed the conduct of the government. Catherine was forty years of age, tall, and rather corpulent. She was liberal and gentle, but too easily led by her favourites.

Fond of her son, even to doting, she had taken every pains with his education, and he profited, in an extraordinary degree, by the instruction of his masters: he was learned, for the age in which he lived, fond of letters, an encourager of learned

men, and himself no mean composer both in prose and verse. But the most important part of a prince's education had been neglected. Catherine's fears for him had caused her to seclude him entirely from the society and conversation of men of the world, and men of business; and, after her death, when he came to take upon himself the cares of government, he was totally ignorant of the business of the kingdom, and unprepared to act his part with credit.

Hence arose the unbounded influence which Alvaro de Luna exercised over him for upwards of thirty years, for so long did that highly endowed, though faulty, man preserve his absolute dominion. The rest of the grandees early conceived extreme jealousy against Alvaro, and their discontents were fomented by the infants of Arragon, the sons of don Ferdinand. Of these, Henry was the most ambitious and enterprising. Resolved on marrying John's younger sister Catherine in hopes that that alliance might procure him the direction of the king, he induced the princess to become his wife against the consent of her brother; and, in the year 1420, actually seized John's person in Tordesillas, under pretence of delivering him from the tyranny of don Alvaro de Luna. But this step incensed many of the grandees, who felt the indignity offered to their king, from whom they derived their own greatness, and they resolved to deliver John by force. For this purpose they

marched to Tordesillas, with the infant John, Henry's brother, at their head, and after a time the king was set free, by a stratagem of Alvaro de Luna. But new disturbances arose, during which Alvaro displayed great bravery and fidelity, and the infant Henry all the resources of a quick and intelligent mind, till the king, weary of his cousin's presumption, caused him to be imprisoned in 1423, and it was this circumstance that induced the king of Arragon, Alonzo the Magnanimous, to return from Naples, in order to mediate between his cousin and his brother. The whole reign of John is a series of this kind of civil tumult, in which sometimes the party of the infants of Arragon, and sometimes that of Alvaro de Luna, carried every thing before it, the king appearing a mere cipher in every transaction. On the imprisonment of don Henry, don Gonzalo Mexia was commissioned to act in his stead as grand-master of Santiago, and the grant that John had weakly made of the hereditary grand-mastership to Henry's family was revoked. On the other hand, de Luna received the title of count of Santestivan de Gormaz, and the office of high constable of Castile.

It was not till two years after the imprisonment of Henry that the entreaties and threats of his brother, the king of Arragon, procured his freedom, and at the same time all his honours and estates were restored to him, and even some arrears and compensation monies were paid. One of the ear-

liest effects of his liberation was the banishment of Alvaro de Luna from court; but, though at a distance, the constable still influenced the councils and directed the conduct of the king.

The most favourable circumstance for Castile that had taken place, in the meanwhile, was the conclusion of a truce with Portugal for twenty-two years. That kingdom, under John the conqueror of Aljubarotta and his sons, had risen to a pitch of glory far beyond the apparent means of so small and poor a country. The sons of John were all great men, and perhaps there was not in Europe at that period any individual to be compared with the fourth, named Henry, duke of Viseo, in knowledge, talent, and enterprise. After the peace concluded with Castile in 1412, John resolved to employ the warlike and restless spirit of his subjects in a foreign expedition, and assembled so large a fleet in the Tagus, as to excite the jealousy of Ferdinand, then newly seated on the throne of Arragon. He therefore sent to demand of Portugal the reason of so extraordinary an armament. The answer of the Portuguese satisfied him; it was destined for Africa, to make war on the infidels, and to examine the coasts of that continent hitherto imperfectly known. The first expedition extended the knowledge of the coast from Cape Non to Cape Bojador; and as the attack on the Moors of Barbary had been successful, a new fleet was soon equipped to follow up these ad-

vantages. Don Henry now became the official director of the discoveries. In 1418, a ship commissioned by him reached the Madeiras, and two years afterwards he established colonies both in Madeira and Porto Santo. By degrees the Portuguese seamen became bolder; they doubled Cape Bojador, they lost the traces of the Moors and of the Mahomedan religion, and came to the country of the negroes, beyond which the false philosophy prevalent at the time taught that men could not live. But the true knowledge and sound understanding of Henry disregarded the prejudices of the age. His brothers, after his father's death, continued to support him in his views. He obtained from the pope, Eugenius IV., a bull conferring on Portugal a right to all the countries she should discover from Cape Non to the continent of India, which may be regarded as procuring a patent for the exclusive right of discovery. Henry was not, however, destined to complete the work, but he lived till the Azores and the Cape de Verd islands had been added to the crown of Portugal, and till the great progress of the navigators along the coast had rendered the farther voyage to India a matter of certainty.

The year 1429 was unfortunately disturbed by hostilities between Castile and Arragon. Alvaro de Luna had returned to court about twelve months before, and the measures adopted in consequence were so offensive to Alonzo of Arragon and his

brother John, become, by the death of his father-in-law, king of Navarre, that they resolved on open war with Castile. Alonzo summoned his brothers to a conference at Teruel, whither Henry immediately repaired for the purpose of concerting measures for the war; but John was absent at Pamplona, where the ceremony of his coronation and that of his queen, which had been hitherto delayed, was to be performed. It is remarkable that both the king and the queen were raised on shields, on the shoulders of the grandees, and in that position received and returned the salutations of the people. This ceremony was no sooner over, than John, apprised of the resolutions taken at Teruel, began diligently to make levies of men and troops for the assistance of Alonzo, in the war against Castile; and Alonzo was not backward on his part in preparations which, however, it was given out, were intended against France.

But the court of Castile was soon apprized of the real object of the levies in the neighbouring states. Don Henry, although his office of grand master of Santiago, and his large estates in Castile, constituted him a grandee of that kingdom, joined his brothers, and a serious war appeared unavoidable. The Castilian nobles on this occasion forgetting their jealousy of De Luna, joined the king at Valencia, and each took a solemn oath to assist him with all his power in the coming war. The defence of the frontier was committed to four

of the principal grandees; the king placed himself at the head of his army and advanced towards the enemy, who had entered Castile by Congolludo, and was encamped in an open plain in number 2500 horse, and a thousand foot, all well disciplined veterans. The Castilians were posted on a height; their number only amounted to seventeen hundred horse, and four hundred foot. The two armies were about to engage, when cardinal Fox, the pope's legate, interposed, and his negotiations lasting till late in the day, the battle was by mutual consent put off until the next morning.

In the meantime, however, the queen of Arragon, a woman of admirable spirit, caused her tent to be pitched midway between the camps, and making use of the night, she so diligently improved the opportunity of influencing her husband on one side, and her brother on the other, that she brought them to terms. But their agreement was not lasting; yet the war, after some predatory incursions on both sides, ended the next year, and the troops destined for its prosecution were turned against other enemies. The king of Castile resolving to take the field against the Moors, while Alonzo of Arragon found employment for his soldiers in his Italian wars.

While Alonzo had been absent from Naples, Jane had entered into a confederacy with Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, who then ruled in

Genoa. At her request he invaded Sicily with an army of ten thousand men, but did nothing worthy of record in the island. His assistance was of more importance on the main land, where his troops garrisoned Gaeta, and other towns within the kingdom, and formed part of the guard of Naples itself. The queen had, as we have seen, revoked the act by which she adopted Alonzo, and had shortly afterwards adopted Louis of Anjou in his stead.

Such was the state of her affairs when Alonzo landed in Sicily, A. D. 1431, whence having settled some ecclesiastical disputes with pope Martin V., he sailed for Naples, where after some time spent in negotiations he became reconciled to Jane, who adopted him anew in 1433. However, the capricious queen, ere a year was elapsed, revoked the act a second time in favour of the duke of Anjou, who died the same year, and Jane also died the year following, that is 1435, regretted neither by her subjects nor her allies, and leaving her crown by will to René of Anjou. Alonzo immediately undertook the siege of Gaeta by sea and land. The Genoese garrison under Francis Spinola defended the place with the utmost bravery. Nearly subdued by famine, the governor turned all the aged and women and children out of the place to the mercy of their enemies. Alonzo received them all in his camp, fed them and gave them liberty to

go whither they would, saying he had rather never gain the place than harm women and children and those who could not defend themselves. This generosity, unusual in those times, gained him many partisans.

Meanwhile the duke of Milan had sent a squadron from Genoa to relieve Gaeta, and Alonzo, not choosing to wait for it before the town, embarked with eleven thousand men, and went to meet it. The two fleets met with equal ardour, and the combat was long and obstinate. Three Genoese vessels attacked the king's ship at once, and boarded her; and while Alonzo defended himself with the utmost bravery, Spinola caused the cordage which supports the main yard to be cut away, and the boom accordingly fell with a tremendous crash so near the king, that he was nearly killed by it, and immediately afterwards he was knocked down by the wind of a ball which passed over his head. At the same moment another shot struck the hull below the water, so as to cause a dangerous leak, and Alonzo was reluctantly obliged to surrender to Giacomo Justiniani, governor of Chio, who commanded a ship in the enemy's squadron.

This memorable battle was fought on the 5th of August, 1435. It lasted eleven hours. Among the prisoners were the king of Arragon, his brothers, John king of Navarre and don Henry, the prince of Tarento, the duke of Sessa, and three

hundred and forty other nobles and gentlemen of the first quality. The booty taken was immense, besides the great sums given as ransoms by the prisoners.

When the ship on board of which the king of Arragon was placed reached the isle of Ischia, the captain desired Alonzo to command the garrison to surrender, on which he haughtily answered that he should do no such thing, for he was certain his subjects knew their duty too well to obey even him when his commands were disgraceful.

Sforza's first intention was to have followed up the victory of Gaeta by a descent in Sicily, but the senate of Genoa sent him word that they were utterly unable to raise the men, or the money for such an expedition. A dispute was on the point of arising between the Genoese captains and their allies of Milan, as to the disposal of their illustrious prisoner, both parties being eager to reap the advantage which the possession of his person might give: but Luke Asseretto, the admiral of the fleet, sent the greater number away by stratagem, and conducted Alonzo directly to Savona. Thence after a few days he was taken to Milan, where he soon detached the duke from the French interest, representing the impolicy of favouring that nation in its possession of Naples, which was only an excuse and opportunity for invading and seizing the territory of any of the princes of Italy. He reminded Visconti that John Galleazzo, his fa-

ther, had never shown jealousy of any power but the French, and that he above all the princes of Italy was interested in guarding against so near an enemy.

These arguments produced their effect. Philip Maria abandoned the cause of René, released Alonzo without ransom, and finally concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with him.

No sooner was the infant don Pedro, viceroy of Sicily, apprised of his brother's freedom, and of the treaty concluded with Visconti, than he set out with a fleet to bring him back to Palermo; but being driven by stress of weather into Gaeta, he landed his troops, and shortly drove out the foreign soldiers and replaced them with a garrison of his own people. Alonzo soon arrived at the same place, and his presence greatly contributed to advance his cause in the kingdom, where he was very popular.

René, duke of Anjou and titular king of Naples, was at this time a close prisoner in the hands of the duke of Burgundy; but having obtained his freedom two years afterwards, he entered Naples together with Attendolo and Caldora, two eminent condottieri, and soon found himself at the head of 18,000 men. His first act was to challenge Alonzo to single combat for their rights; but the king of Arragon wisely determined to take no notice of the challenge, but laid siege to Naples, which after a long blockade seemed on the point

of surrendering, when a fatal accident suspended the king's operations. This was no other than the death of his brother Pedro, who was killed by a shot from the fortress of our Lady of mount Carmel, in the 27th year of his age. His loss occasioned the greatest consternation in the army, where he was generally beloved and admired for his valour and humanity.

The violent rains which set in shortly afterwards obliged Alonzo to raise the siege for the present. On retiring from Naples he proceeded to Acerra, an important place in the Terra di Lavoro, and of the lower part of which he took possession with ease; the citadel held out for René during three months, when Alonzo took it by assault. Thence he proceeded to Aversa, which defended itself for some time. René in the meanwhile marched into Apulia, and after some slight successes took the road towards Benevento. Alonzo followed him with part of his army, and obtained a signal advantage over him in a general skirmish, which forced René to retreat.

Alonzo's arms were so successful during the ensuing year, that he applied formally to pope Eugenius IV. for the investiture of the kingdom; but that pontiff refusing it, he without absolutely acknowledging the antipope Felix V. prevailed on the council then assembled at Basle to countenance him so far as to send him an ambassador. Martin however was so far from being intimidated

into granting the investiture, that he assembled a considerable body of troops and sent them under the cardinal of Tarento, and the general Talia-cozzo, to the assistance of René; but the cardinal, instead of fighting, concluded a truce with Alonzo, and thereby completed the disasters of the duke of Anjou. That unfortunate prince took refuge at Florence with pope Eugenius, who then bestowed on him the investiture of the kingdom he had just lost; three months afterwards he returned to Provence, of which he was count, and no longer pretended to the possession of Naples. He was in this situation, when his daughter Margaret was chosen as the wife of Henry VI. of England, by the infatuated Suffolk, who sacrificed for her sake the provinces of Anjou and Maine, which had long been subject to the kings of England.

*Before the end of the year 1440, the whole of Naples became subject to Alonzo notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the capital, and he had no longer any enemy in Italy but the pope. Determined to overcome his holiness's obstinacy, he recommenced negotiations with the council of Basle, and was on the point of acknowledging Felix as the lawful pontiff on condition of receiving from him the investiture of Naples, for which he promised to pay two hundred thousand pieces of gold. But Eugenius perceiving that the affairs of René were desperate, abandoned his cause,

and offered terms to Alonzo. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between them in 1443, by which each party gained what he wished. Alonzo acknowledged the pope, and fitted out twelve galleys to be employed against the Turks, and received in return the long desired investiture of the kingdom he had conquered.

From this time the reign of Alonzo in his three kingdoms was undisturbed by any material faction. He distinguished himself in his intercourse with foreign states as one of the greatest politicians of the age, and in his domestic government by his justice, firmness, and liberality. It is said that one day when he was receiving a thousand ducats from his treasurer, he overheard one of his officers say, "That very sum would make me a happy man."—"Be happy," said Alonzo, and instantly gave him the sum. On another occasion towards the end of his life, he displayed extraordinary firmness. While he was hearing mass in the chapel of St. Severino at Naples, there happened one of the most violent earthquakes that had ever shaken that city. Every body fled; even the priest left the altar. But the king kept him back, and insisted on his finishing the ceremonies of the sacrament which he had begun. His reputation was so great throughout Europe, that when the emperor Frederic II. visited Rome, he said he could not quit Italy without visiting so great a prince. His

courtiers represented that he compromised his dignity by paying the first visit to a king. No, said he, not to a king whose personal qualities set him above all the princes in the world.

But while the king of Arragon had been thus successful in his foreign expeditions, and while his kingdom had enjoyed a state of peace under the superintendence of the *cortes* and the *justiza*, aided by the wisdom of his queen, Castile had continued to be the scene of civil dissension.

One only event since the conclusion of the peace with Arragon had been in favour of Castile, and that was the battle of Figueiros, when the Moors were completely beaten with the loss of thirty thousand men. John himself was in the field, but the advantage was not followed up, and the Christians retreated under circumstances that induced the *grandees* to suspect Alvar de Luna of having received a bribe from the king of Grenada, to induce his master to withdraw his forces. The next action with the Moors was unfavourable to the Castilians, although one of the chief knights of the house of Aben Zeragh died in the battle; but neither that nor any of the subsequent skirmishes produced any material effect on the general relations of the two kingdoms.

The absolute dominion of Alvar de Luna had now a new opponent, in the person of don Henry prince of Asturias, the heir apparent of Castile. That young prince had married, in 1439, Blanche,

the daughter of John of Arragon, king of Navarre, and was easily induced to join his wife's father and uncle, in their opposition to the favourite. They accordingly formed a confederacy with most of the grandees of the kingdom, and assembled troops at Medina del Campo, where the king in endeavouring to disperse them fell into their hands, and only obtained his freedom on condition of exiling De Luna for six years from court. But long ere the period agreed on had expired, the constable was recalled, and soon gave a proof that the resentment of the nobles was not entirely unprovoked. Maria, the wife of John II., died in 1445, and the king, desirous of renewing his connexion with France, sent to demand the hand of the princess Fredegonda, the daughter of Charles VII.; but De Luna, resolved not to permit his master to marry any one whom he himself could not control, secretly agreed with the king of Portugal for a marriage with his niece Isabel, and only informed the king of his determination after the matter was concluded, and the princess at hand to fulfil the contract. In this affair, however, Alvaro had overreached himself; for Isabella was a princess of too high a spirit to be kept long under the dominion of a favourite. She joined the enemies of the constable, and after a series of disgraceful struggles for power on both sides, he was taken and thrown into prison. The circumstances are remarkable. Alvaro in the king's name had im-

prisoned the count of Alva, his personal enemy; and in revenge for his captivity, his son don Garcia, from the strong place of Pedrahita, made sallies and robbed and distressed the king's vassals. At the same time don Pedro de Zuniga, count of Palencia, had withdrawn from court on account of the tyranny and pride of De Luna, to Bejar, a place near Pedrahita. The constable, enraged at this, proposed to besiege don Garcia as an outlaw with some of the king's troops, resolving to turn them afterwards on Bejar, and surprise Zuniga. His intention was discovered, and the count de Haro and the marquis de Santillana agreed that they would prevent the farther evils intended by the constable, and seize him at Valladolid, whither he had gone with the king, for the purpose of providing assistance for one of the parties then engaged in civil war in Navarre. They despatched a band of five hundred horse, under pretence of taking part in the private feud then raging between the counts of Benevento and Trastamare, but with orders to waylay and kill don Alvaro de Luna. He however was not to be deceived, and to defeat the plans of his enemies, he persuaded the king and his family to return to Burgos. But this did but accelerate his fate. Inigo de Zuniga, brother to the count of Valencia, was alcaide of the place, and to him the king, who was weary of the thraldom in which he was kept by De Luna, gave orders to concert with his brother the means

of securing the constable. The plot, into which the queen entered heartily, was carried on by means of the countess de Ribadio, the niece of the Zunigas. The count being confined at the time with the gout, deputed his eldest son Alvaro to act for him, and he assembled a body of troops at Curiel, a village near Burgos, to be at hand to obey the king. But that capricious prince had already repented of the permission he had given don Alvaro's enemies to destroy him, and he conveyed to him timely warning to escape to his country estate. But the constable doubted the king's sincerity, and imagining that his advice was only an artifice to get rid of his presence, to give his enemies opportunity to ruin him, he obstinately resolved to remain in the city. A few days afterwards, in a sudden fit of fury he killed Alonzo de Vevero, the king's accountant, and threw his body out of the window of his own house—thus insulting the king, whose servant Vivero was, and giving a loose to the passions which had excited the fear and hatred of the grandees. This outrage determined John to suffer his arrest: he therefore sent for young Zuniga and his troop from Curiel; they entered by night, and the principal citizens were called on to arm themselves and guard the streets and lanes carefully. All believed that the object was to seize the constable's person, yet no one gave him warning, except a poor footman named Diego de Gotor, who entreated him to fly.

But he, confident in himself, and in his ancient influence with the king, refused to attempt it; indeed whither could he go with all men's hopes and wishes against him!

At five o'clock the next morning, the house of Pedro de Cartagena, where the constable lodged, was surrounded: no violence was attempted, although his servants killed one or two of the citizens with cross-bows from the windows. De Luna seeing there was no possibility of escape, and as the king had given a warrant signed with his own hand for the arrest, promising at the same time that no violence should be done him, surrendered, and was immediately made a close prisoner in his own apartment. After mass the king came to eat in the same house, accompanied by the bishop of Avila. De Luna was standing at a window as they passed, and said, stroking his beard, "You shall pay dear for this, sir priest:" when the bishop answered, "I have no more to do with it than the king of the Moors." After the tables were removed, the constable sent to ask leave to speak to the king, but it was refused. He then sent him a letter, the first sentences of which are as follows. "It is forty-five years, my lord king, since I first began to serve you. I complain not of the scantiness of your favour, which has been greater than my deserving or than my desires. One thing was wanting to my fortune, the courage to retire in

time. I might have retreated to my own dwelling, and have enjoyed repose in imitation of many great men who have preceded me. But I rather chose to serve on, as it appeared to me that my duty and the public necessities demanded. I deceived myself."

The rest of the note concerns the riches he had acquired, and the use he had made of them. The king's answer appears harsh to a man who had been the companion of his youth, almost the guardian of his childhood, and who had been faithful to him, however disagreeable to the nation: the unhappy de Luna was conveyed as a state prisoner to Portello. A council was appointed to examine into his conduct and his crimes. It was composed of his enemies; they condemned him to death, and the sentence was almost immediately executed, at Valladolid, to which place he had been removed from Portello.

A new scaffold was erected for him, spread with a rich carpet, as became his quality; a crucifix was placed at one end of the platform, and the whole inhabitants of the city were assembled to see the end of a man whom fortune seemed to have raised to the summit of greatness, only to precipitate with wider ruin to the lowest degree of misery. The prisoner had passed the morning with his confessor, and had taken the sacrament, when the trumpet of death sounded, and the herald began the proclama-

tion of the crimes for which don Alvaro de Luna, grand master of Santiago and high constable of Castile, was condemned to death: the chief of these was, the having assumed the absolute dominion over the king, his household, and his court. The constable smiled at the accusation, and mounted his mule to proceed from the prison to the scaffold, with a countenance as serene as when he used to mount his palfrey for pleasure. His saddle-cloth and cloak were black: and his confessor, also in a mourning habit, accompanied him. On reaching the scaffold he dismounted, and going up the steps took off his hat, and gave it, with his seal-ring, to his page Morales, who when he took it in his hand uttered such a piteous cry, that the spectators all joined with one accord in his lamentations. The constable himself adjusted his robes for his execution, and laying his head on the block it was severed from his body at one blow. Thus perished one of the bravest, and till that last year, one of the most fortunate men of his time. His talents and qualities were great: but his ambition was boundless, his haughtiness insufferable, and towards the latter part of his life he was guilty of some acts of cruelty and avaricious oppression. Yet he had been faithful to king John, and had often procured a respect for that weak prince, which no unprompted action of his own ever merited.

John II. did not long survive his minister, whose

death was far from producing the peace expected. The contest with Navarre continued, and an unreasonable claim made by Castile on the conquests of Portugal on the coasts of Africa seemed likely to involve John in a war with that country. The queen of Arragon, however, offered her mediation, and in order to carry it into effect, met the king of Castile at Valladolid. She was successful in her pacific negotiation both with Portugal and Navarre, notwithstanding a new affront offered to the latter by the infant don Henry, who divorced his wife Blanche, and sent her back to her father, on pretence of her being bewitched. John died just as the several treaties of peace with Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal were concluded in the year 1454. He had long suffered from ague; and the regret he felt for the loss of Alvaro de Luna probably hastened his death. He was buried in St. Paul's, in Valladolid, but afterwards removed to Burgos.

John II. was one of the weakest princes that had yet sat on the throne of Castile: though not without learning and literary taste, his understanding was mean, and his character despicable. By his first wife he left a son, don Henry, who succeeded him. By his second wife, Isabella of Portugal, he left a daughter, the celebrated Isabella the Catholic, and a son Alonzo, only a few months old, whose legitimacy was disputed.



Costume—Catalonia.

The early part of the fifteenth century was remarkable for the dawn of that spirit of discovery which began in Portugal and Castile, and led the way to the brilliant achievements of Vasco de Gama and of Columbus.

Don Pedro of Portugal, the father of Isabel queen of Castile, had himself travelled far into the east. After visiting the emperor Sigismond, he proceeded into Asia: attracted by the fame of Timour Leng, or Tamerlane, he resolved to visit that prince; and on his return to Portugal, the people of the different cities came out to meet him in whole bodies, and led him in triumph, as if returned from a mighty conquest. Of the enterprises

of his brother don Henry and their success, I have already had occasion to speak. Happily the Madeira islands were uninhabited, so that he had only to settle his colonists there in peace. It was far different with the settlements of Castile in the Canaries. Those rich islands were peopled by a gentle yet brave people, of peculiar religion, manners, and appearance, called Guanches. They more nearly resembled the Copts of Egypt than any other nation. Their complexion was of a deep sallow brown, their stature low, their limbs delicate. They were a pastoral people, and imagined that their goats and sheep were of a peculiar kind, only possessed by themselves, and ordained by the Creator for their use and comfort. They possessed the art of preserving their dead, whom they placed upright in caverns, to which on certain festivals solemn processions were made, and it was death to any stranger to intrude on the sacred chambers of the dead. The love of the Castilians for conquest, and the zeal of their clergy for conversion, soon led to wars with this inoffensive people; those wars continued for upwards of a century, and ended at last with the total extirpation of the Guanches as a nation, though a few individuals in the different Spanish villages in Teneriffe, and the other islands, are now and then to be seen, whose countenances betray their derivation from the ancient inhabitants of the soil.

The first discovery of the Canaries was certainly

made by some ships belonging to Spain; but those islands had been little visited, except for the sake of plunder, until king Henry III. granted them to a Norman baron, John de Betancourt, who first formed a settlement there on the failure of the projects of the La Cerda family, who, as we have seen, had received those islands from the kings of Castile, and were confirmed in them by a grant of the pope soon after their first discovery. But the jealousy excited by the Portuguese conquests in Africa caused the Castilian government to purchase back the islands from Betancourt's family, and they have ever since remained subject to Spain.

The discovery of the Canaries, so far from either continent, and the still more distant isles of Cape de Verd and the Azores, indicate sufficiently the progress of navigation, and the sciences and arts connected with it. Astronomy, geometry, and mechanics, particularly that part of the science which belongs to naval architecture, were prodigiously improved; and the example of don Henry had taught men to respect these pursuits even in a military age:

Literature kept pace with science. The court of John II., disturbed by faction as it was, yet served as a temple for the muses. The king himself setting the example of devotion to poetry and music, he was zealously followed by his courtiers. The most illustrious scholar, philosopher, and

statesman of the time, was the marquis of Villena. He was descended of the royal houses of Arragon and Castile, and has been already mentioned in a former chapter. As his family had been dispossessed of the marquisate of Villena, Henry III. had given him the earldom of Caregas, and afterwards procured him to be elected grand-master of Calatrava. But, after Henry's death, the knights refused obedience to him, as having been intruded on them, and dispossessed him after a trial of six years. After this event he accompanied Ferdinand of Castile to Barcelona, when he went to receive the crown of Arragon, and there, at Ferdinand's request, presided at the consistory of Troubadours, and wrote a theatrical piece, in which Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Peace, were the principal characters. In 1414 he returned to Castile, and there, at his estate of Iniesta, he devoted himself to study. Besides a translation of Dante into prose, he translated the *Æneis* of Virgil into Spanish verse, at the request of his kinsman, John, king of Navarre, to whom he intended to dedicate it; for which purpose he had affixed a painting, representing John seated on his throne, and himself presenting his book. His most celebrated work was the "*Gaya Sciencia*," a complete system of poetry, rhetoric, and oratory, at the end of which he describes the ceremonies of the Troubadours at their public meetings. This work was dedicated to his learned friend the marquis of Santillana.

Villena died of the gout 1434. It is said that his fine library was burnt under the notion of his having dealt in magic; but it is to be hoped that the king's confessor, the bishop of Cuenca, who was charged with the commission, did really, as it is said, reserve the greater part of the books for himself.

Charles III., king of Navarre, the father-in-law of John, was as remarkable for his love of literature and his humane disposition, as his father had been for brutality and ignorance. He was the author of several pieces in prose and verse, and first translated Aristotle's *Ethics* into the Castilian tongue.

Fernan Perez de Guzman, lord of Burres, was both a historian and a poet; the printed *Cancioneras* abound with his songs, and he was the author of a poem, called *Las Sentencias y Coplas de bien Vivir*, and of the *Chronicle* of king John. He wrote, in prose, the lives of all the great men who flourished in that king's reign—a work greatly esteemed, and which has been more than once imitated.

Perhaps there was no man of letters in this time more remarkable than don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, marquis of Santillana. By order of the king he drew up a collection of moral precepts for the instruction of prince Henry; and, for the same purpose, he also wrote a *Treatise of Favourites*, in which Alvaro de Luna is the speaker, and cautions his successors to avoid his errors. The

marquis's letter to Pedro, high constable of Portugal, son of the infant, don Pedro, the traveller, gives a curious description of the state of Castilian poetry in his time. After having slightly noticed the rise of vernacular poetry in Italy, France, and Spain, where he particularises the writers of the different provinces, and among the Castilians several of his own family, he says, "but of all these, whether Italians or Provençal, Lemosin, Catalans, Castilian, Portuguese, Gallego, or any other, we must place first the Cisalpine Gauls of the province of Aquitaine for the solemnizing and honouring this art. The form and manner how, I will not here relate, because I have already mentioned them in the prologue to my proverbs." The collection of proverbs alluded to was formed at the request of John II. It is also called *Centiloquis*; there are several ancient words preserved in this work, and it was first printed in 1494.

The letter to the high constable of Portugal was not printed till Sanchez prefixed it as a kind of introduction to his collection of Spanish poems prior to the fifteenth century.

Some fine verses on the death of don Henrique de Villena were written by Santillana, and also a hundred and twenty octave stanzas on the naval battle of Ponza between the king of Arragon and the Genoese, when the king and his brother were taken prisoners. The marquis celebrated the canonization of some of the preachers of his time,

especially saint Vincent Ferrier, in twenty-eight stanzas, and wrote almost innumerable addresses to the Virgin and saints, songs, serenades, sonnets, and complimentary verses. One of his most celebrated works is a dialogue between the philosopher Bias and Fortune, written on occasion of the imprisonment of his cousin the count of Alva, first in the castle of Roa, and afterwards in the tower of Segovia. It is full of sound reflection and dignified feeling. It is preceded by a letter containing the life of Bias, which is printed in the *Centon Epistolar*. The whole work, which is very rare, was printed early in Seville by Stanislaus the Pole.

* The marquis of Santillana died in the reign of Henry IV. at the age of sixty. His friend and companion, the poet John de Mena of Cordova, died a few years before him; and at his expense a monument was raised to his memory. De Mena was so great a favourite with the king that he often corrected his poems with his own hand.

He is supposed to be the author of a satire, called, in *Don Quixote*, the *Coplas de Mengo Revulgo*. It is a pastoral dialogue between two shepherds, describing the vices of Henry the son of John II., and reproaching him as a bad shepherd. The stuttering shepherd named in it is Moses, Christoval Mexia is the Messiah, and Meco Moro, Mahomet; all their flocks are represented as grazing together, without any guide to separate or restrain

them, to the great damage of the state. Some authors, however, attribute this poem to Fernan de Pulgar.

These were the principal poets of Castile during the first half of the fifteenth century, when the court of king John was celebrated for its politeness; that monarch was a patron of other arts as well as poetry. The charms of painting were early felt in Castile: even in the year 1290, Rodrigo Estéban had begun to adorn the chapels of the cathedrals and monasteries; towards the end of the next century, Cesilles in Catalonia, and Ferrand Gonzalez in Toledo, had also employed their pencils on sacred subjects. In the reign of John I. the reports spread by some travellers of the excellent works of Gerard Starnino, a Florentine, the pupil of Antonio Veneziano, induced the king to invite him into Castile to adorn the palaces and churches in his dominions; and he probably contributed, as well as his countryman, Dello, painter to John II., to form the taste of the Spanish school of art. Rogel, a native of Flanders, succeeded Dello in the favour of John. Some of his works preserved at Miraflores, and painted in 1445, are said to be executed with extraordinary delicacy. Of native artists, there were the maestro Luis of Majora, Juan Alfor of Toledo, and Juan Sanchez de Castro of Seville, employed to paint the principal churches of the native towns. One Spanish artist

seems to have been distinguished above the rest; this was maestro Jorge Ingles, employed by the celebrated marquis of Santillana, to paint the altar-piece of the church he had built at Buitrago. The marquis is represented on one side of the altar on his knees, and behind him his page in the same attitude; on the other side is the marchioness also in the act of devotion, with a young girl standing behind her, and above twelve angels, each bearing a label, on which is inscribed one of the sacred stanzas written by the marquis in honour of the blessed Virgin. The most ancient painting on glass known in Spain is in the church of Toledo: it was begun, 1418, by Dolfín, who received a very high price for his labour, and was continued by maestro Luis after Dolfín's death in 1425, for the sum of 600 florins of Arragon.

The art of painting in miniature and illuminating manuscripts, possessed by the Spanish Arabs in such perfection, was practised very early in Castile, where, even in the tenth century, Vigila, Soracino, and Garcia, executed some beautiful works. Peter of Pamplona was employed by don Alonzo the wise to illuminate the precious Bible, which he placed in the cathedral of Seville. Some of the figures are of barbarous design, though beautiful colour; but the frontispieces, composed of Moorish columns and other parts of architecture, are extremely fine.

Sculpture for monuments, and for the ornaments of churches and monasteries, was very early in request. Carving in wood naturally preceded the sculpture of harder materials, and the delicate workmanship of the Moors furnished examples to their Christian neighbours peculiarly fit for that species of ornament. The first Castilian sculptors, whose names we know, are Apancio, and his son Rodolfo. They made a shrine of beautiful wood for the body of St. Milan at the request of Sancho Mayor, king of Navarre: it was studded with gold, and inlaid with ivory in twenty-two compartments, representing the adventures of the saint.

The maestro Matteo, the builder of the cathedral of Santiago, is the next architect and sculptor who distinguished himself in Spain. The figures and bas-reliefs, in a dry Gothic style, placed on the front of the church have considerable merit. Ferdinand II. esteemed him so highly that he bestowed on him a pension for life. He was followed a century later by Bartoleme; and Bartoleme by Castayls of Barcelona at the same distance of time. He was followed in 1410 by Centelles of Palencia, and the archives of the cathedral of Toledo have preserved the names of upwards of twenty artists, who were employed in adorning the cathedral of that city with sculpture, both within and without, during the first thirty years of the century. Zamora was patronised by the unfortunate Alvaro de

Luna, and has left some good sepulchral monuments. But the greatest sculptor of the reign of John was Lorenzo Mercadante de Bretania, whose monument to the cardinal don Juan de Cervantes, in the chapel of St. Hermenegild in Seville, is very fine. It consists of a cenotaph resting on four lions; on the top is the figure of the cardinal in his robes, and on the four sides are angels supporting his arms and devices. The whole is finely designed, though in the Gothic taste.

In ornamental carving, such as the works of relief in silver, Fernai, a Frenchman, is the first mentioned; and he probably made the precious crown which Catherine of Lancaster presented to her brother-in-law Ferdinand, to be used at his coronation as king of Arragon, and of which, though composed of gold and jewels, it is said the price of the workmanship far surpassed that of the materials.

Jayme, and Juan de Castellou, with Nadal Irro of Valentia, surpassed the French artist in the richness of their design, and the delicacy of their execution, if we may judge by the beautiful ciborium of silver belonging to the great church of Valencia: and Juan, the master of the others, by the alabaster statue of the Virgin, which he placed in the choir, proves his claim to a high rank among the sculptors of both classes of his time.

Some more names might be quoted of the first

restorers of letters and the arts in christian Spain, but these will suffice to show that that country kept pace with the rest of Europe, in the progress towards more perfect civilization.

The colleges for the education of such as wished to devote themselves to study, or to any of the learned professions, not being sufficient, new ones were founded at Salamanca, Valladolid, and Alcala: and schools were opened in almost every large town in the country.

The climate of Spain is in general excellent; but from the great elevation of the interior, it is subject occasionally to violent storms and changes. During the reign of king John, an extraordinary meteor, which appeared over Ciudad Roderigo, alarmed the whole nation: and the kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre suffered great distress approaching to famine in 1433, in consequence of a fall of snow which continued without intermission for forty days. In 1438, a phenomenon which even in our days is scarcely understood occurred, namely, a shower of stones, at Madruelo in Old Castile, which excited such attention that king John sent special messengers to examine into the truth of the report on the spot, and to bring him specimens of the stones. The astrologers were consulted: but they did not venture to form any opinion upon a fact so extraordinary, and the shower of stones continued to be the wonder of the

ignorant, and to be disbelieved by such as pretended to knowledge, until the modern improvements in philosophy ascertained the truth, and accounted for the apparent miracle.



Riding dress of the 15th century.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV., A. D. 1454,
TO THE UNION OF CASTILE AND ARRAGON, A. D.
1479.



Coin of Henry IV. from Saets.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of John II., the grandees, most of whom were assembled at Valladolid, proceeded to crown his son, the infant don Henry, who celebrated his accession by an act

which was extremely agreeable to most of the court. This was the liberation of the counts of Alva and Trevino, who had been imprisoned in compliance with the advice of Alvaro de Luna, and whom John refused to set free even after the death of that favourite. The negotiations for peace which had been begun by the late king and the queen of Arragon were now happily concluded. It was agreed that John king of Navarre, and Henry infant of Arragon, should give up the towns and lands they held in Castile to the crown, on receiving a certain annual compensation in money, and that they should not interfere in the affairs of the kingdom. The peace with Portugal was cemented by the marriage of Henry with Juanna, daughter of don Duarte the king, a princess whose licentious manners were a scandal to the people, and only to be equalled in depravity by those of the king her husband.

The hopes that the people might have conceived from the beginning of a new reign were in great measure abandoned when it was perceived that Henry was as much under the guidance of his servants and favourites as his father had been, and if there were any improvement it was not owing to him, but to the character of his minister don Juan Pacheco, who exercised his power with more discretion than Alvaro de Luna, and who like Henry himself abhorred the slightest approach to cruelty. The first occurrence of importance in Henry's

reign was a war with the Moors, to whose history it will be necessary to look back.

The battle in which Muhammad Alhayzari lost his vizir, Yusef Aben Zeragh, was destructive both to Moors and Christians. The immediate cause of the campaign which ended with that battle was that a party of discontented sheikhs had conspired to place Yusef Aben Alahmar, the grandson of Muhammad whom Peter the Cruel murdered, on the throne of Grenada. They had repaired to the king of Castile for assistance, who willingly agreed to support Alahmar on condition of his acknowledging him as his liege lord, paying tribute, and annually releasing a certain number of Christian captives. Accordingly Alahmar was proclaimed king of Grenada in the Christian camp, which then contained a very numerous army. The Moors under Muhammad Alhayzari were equally strong, and in the battle, as neither party gave quarter, the slaughter was horrible. The death of Aben Zeragh deprived the Grenadines of their best counsellor. And the whole nation was so dismayed, that Alhayzari with the consent of all retired to Malaga with his family, and Alahmar marched into Grenada and took possession of the throne. But he had scarcely reigned six months when he died, partly of old age, and partly of the fatigue and anxiety of his new situation.

On his death Muhammad Alhayzari returned to Grenada and resumed his crown, having now been

twice dethroned. By the advice of his vizir Abdelbar, he sent an envoy to Castile to renew the truce which king John had entered into with him, and enjoyed a few years of tranquillity in consequence. But the term for which the truce had been agreed on having expired, Roderigo Manrique attacked and took Huescar from the Moors, who on their side defeated the Castilians under Guttierrez de Sotomayor, grand master of Alcantara, and gained other marked advantages over them. They were now indeed so engaged in civil war, that they could not attempt to revenge themselves, and the Moors were glad of an interval of peace to recover from the disorders into which their domestic as well as foreign wars had thrown them.

But the misfortunes of Muhammad Alhayzari were not yet ended; he was deposed a third time by the intrigues of his nephew Muhammad Aben Osmin el Ahnaf, whom some call Elaksa, who surprised him in the Alhambra, and loading him with chains sent him prisoner to Almeria. The vizir Abdelbar retired with his family and friends to Montefrio. Thence fearful that openly espousing the cause of his royal master might only accelerate his death, he wrote to another nephew of Alhayzari named Aben Ismael, who had long been in the service of Castile, and invited him to take possession of the throne of Grenada. Aben Ismael, who fancied himself aggrieved by his uncle, be-

cause he had refused him a lady in marriage, whose riches he coveted, was glad to avail himself of this occasion for revenge, and wrote to Abdelbar his acceptance of the throne, intimating at the same time that he should apply for support to the king of Castile, of whose good will and fidelity he felt secure.

Aben Ismael accordingly set out accompanied by several other Moorish chiefs, who, like him, had been in the service of Castile, and escorted by many Christian knights to the frontier. But in the meantime, Aben Osman resenting the assistance afforded to Ismael by king John, marched suddenly upon Bena Maurel, which he took, and put every one of the inhabitants to death, and treated the garrison of Aben Zuleyma in the same manner, and then marched back in triumph to Grenada loaded with spoil.

But the next year he was obliged to fly before the victorious troops of Ismael, and as he had made himself odious to the people of Grenada, he escaped to the mountains unattended and unpitied. The death of John II. of Castile dissolved the treaty with the Moors, and his successor Henry IV. was glad to divert the course of civil dissension, by employing the many contending parties of his kingdom in one common war, equally popular with all.

Accordingly, the year after his accession, he collected a large body of troops, and entering Gre-

nada, he advanced to the plain surrounding the capital, where he burnt the corn standing in the fields, and destroyed the farms and orchards; while Ismael, not daring to risk a battle, beheld with rage and grief, from the battlements of the Alhambra, the devastation of the country. The next year Henry returned, and recommenced the havoc of the preceding campaign. But the Castilian troops, weary of this kind of warfare, began to murmur, and instead of confining themselves, according to the king's orders, to wasting the country, attacked a small body of Moorish soldiers, by whom they were completely defeated. Henry in revenge assaulted the town of Mena, and put every person, man, woman, and child to the sword.

Ismael, dreading the consequences of the repeated destruction of the harvests, now resolved, though with great repugnance, to sue for peace: it was granted at the price of an annual tribute of twelve thousand golden crowns. It is curious that the territory of Jaen is not comprehended in the treaty, but is left as a sort of debatable land, in which the Christian and Moorish knights might find a fair field for their chivalrous encounters. However, in an action of some consequence, the warden of the frontiers, Castaneda, having been defeated and taken prisoner, Jaen also was comprehended in the truce.

But the restless spirit of Muley Abul Hassan,

the eldest son of Ismael, broke the truce ere many years had elapsed, by an inroad into Andalusia; and on the other hand, don Gusman, duke of Medina Sidonia, besieged and took Gibraltar, and at the same time don Pedro Giron, grand master of Calatrava, took possession of Archidona. The acquisition of Gibraltar was considered of so much consequence, that Henry among his other titles assumed that of king of Gibraltar.

These losses obliged Ismael again to sue for peace, and Henry, who had gone to Gibraltar, to take possession in person of that important place, went from thence to the Vega, or plain of Granada, to confer with him on the terms of the treaty. The two kings feasted together for some days, and interchanged gifts in sign of friendship. The treaty of peace which they signed continued unbroken till the death of Ismael, which happened in the year 1466, at Almeria, where he had a favourite palace. It was during these years of tranquillity that the Christian and Moorish knights visited each other at their respective castles, and contracted those particular friendships celebrated in the ballads of the time, and which gave a more romantic character to the wars that ensued. The peace continued also during the first years of the reign of Muley Abul Hassan, the son and successor of Ismael, a haughty and enterprising monarch, and fond of war, its adventures, and its dangers.

Among his wives, there were two whom he loved far above the rest. The first was his own cousin and the mother of his eldest son, Muhammad Abuabdilah, commonly called Boabdil; and the second was Zoraya, the daughter of the alcajde of Martos, of Christian lineage, whose two sons were afterwards the causes of those civil wars, which led to the destruction of the Moorish kingdom in Spain.

The first disturbance in Abul Hassan's reign was occasioned by the rebellion of the alcajde of Malaga, a man of great renown and much esteemed by the people throughout Grenada. Abul Hassan immediately named one of his own relations to supersede the rebel, trusting to his valour and discretion to put down the disturbance with the least possible damage to the people. In the meantime the alcajde had applied for help to the king of Castile. Henry went immediately to Archidona, where the alcajde met him and promised allegiance, presenting him at the same time with two beautiful horses as a sign of his fealty. Henry in return engaged to assist him, and to invade the territory of Grenada the next season. Abul Hassan no sooner learned the success of this negotiation, than he resolved to prevent the Christian monarch, and accordingly ravaged the frontier of Andalusia, burning the villages, and carrying away the inhabitants, and this

kind of warfare continued until the death of Henry. In the midst, however, of the hostilities, a curious circumstance occurred. Don Diego de Cordoba had some dispute of honour with don Alonzo de Aquila; they had demanded a fair field and open lists to decide their affair in Castile, but Henry refused to grant the privilege. They therefore applied to the king of Grenada, who immediately prepared for their reception. Don Diego arrived, and the lists were prepared in the plain of Grenada, at the foot of the city walls. Day after day the field was kept, until the last hour appointed in the challenge being past, and Alonzo de Aquila not appearing, Abul Hassan declared him vanquished. But there was a near relation of Alonzo's present, who could not endure the dishonour cast on his kinsman, and declared that he had been detained by force in Castile, and offered to do battle in his stead; but this Abul Hassan forbade, saying the lists had been fairly kept. The knight, however, persisted in challenging Diego, on which the king of Grenada ordered him to be imprisoned for contumacy. He resisted the arrest, and the king was about to give orders to slay him for his disobedience, but at the intercession of don Diego, Abul Hassan forgave him on account of his bravery, and of that chivalrous feeling, which had led him to resent the dishonour of his friend. In the meanwhile, the affairs of Castile

were in the worst possible condition; the weak and vicious character of the king, and the open profligacy of the queen, with her disgraceful quarrels with the king's mistress, Guiomar, who was supported by the archbishop of Seville, while the marquis of Villena took part with her, so disgusted the grandees, that in the year 1459 they formed an union, and called the king of Arragon to their assistance, to remedy in some measure the misfortunes and dishonour of the kingdom.

The mediation of Louis XI., king of France, was then sought and obtained, and Henry met him on the Bidassoa in 1463, in order to bring his differences with the king of Arragon to a conclusion. But the conference scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour, when the two monarchs separated for ever in mutual disgust. Louis was accompanied by the two Gastons, counts of Foix, the duke of Bourbon, the archbishop of Tours, and the high admiral of France; their dress was plain, and that of the king even mean. The Castilian king, on the other hand, had in his train the archbishop of Toledo, the bishops of Burgos, Leon, Segovia and Calahorra, the marquis of Villena, the grand master of Alcantara, and the grand prior of the order of St. John, with the count of Ledesma. They were all splendidly attired in embroidered vests wrought with gold and fine pearls. The count of Ledesma's boat had sails of brocade, and every thing conformably rich. Louis conceived the greatest con-

tempt for Henry, whose countenance was stupid and his features gross. Henry, on the other hand, despised the poor and mean appearance of the Frenchman, and was moreover highly indignant at the sentence he pronounced on his disputes with Arragon, so that the negotiation produced nothing but ill-will on either side. And the civil disturbances of Castile continued to rage during the whole life of Henry.

But if the state of Castile was deplorable, that of Arragon was not entirely tranquil. The death of Alonzo V. had called his brother John king of Navarre to the throne. That prince had, as we have seen, obtained the crown of Navarre by his marriage with Blanche, the daughter of Charles III., and widow of Martin the younger, king of Sicily. John had three children by this lady, namely, Charles prince of Vianna, Blanche, who had been divorced on the ridiculous pretence of witchcraft by Henry IV. of Castile, and Leonor, married to Gaston IV. count of Foix. On the death of queen Blanche in 1441, her son Charles, prince of Vianna, became the rightful king; but her husband was too fond of power to resign the crown even to his own son, and a civil war commenced, which with little intermission harassed both Navarre and Arragon during the greater part of John's life. Charles had married a princess of Cleves, who however did not live long; yet her connexions greatly assisted him in his wars against

his father. His sister Blanche also made a strong party in his favour, till at length John was so exasperated, that he disinherited them both, and named the countess of Foix as his heir. Charles, despairing of obtaining the kingdom from his father, took refuge with his uncle Alonzo the magnanimous, at Naples, and enjoyed a pension from him until his death in 1458, when John inherited his throne.

After this event, although the king was irritated by the prince of Vianna's pertinacity in claiming immediate possession of Navarre, he repeatedly endeavoured to bring him to some terms; but no sooner did an opportunity occur than he rebelled anew, and the kingdom was kept in a state of disquiet on his account, until his death, which happened in 1661. Shortly after that event, king John, after a conference with the count of Foix, wherein the latter promised not to molest his father-in-law, on account of the right his wife Leonor might have to the kingdom of Navarre, delivered up donna Blanche to the care of the count, who kept her a close prisoner for a few months, when she died, as is most probable, of a broken heart, though the manners of the times were such that it was believed she was poisoned.

But the disputes concerning the succession to Navarre were not the only ones that disturbed John's reign. His second wife, donna Juanna, the daughter of Frederick Henriquez, high admiral

of Castile, was a woman of high spirit and great prudence; but her ambition was so openly displayed, that she was suspected, though certainly without reason, of having caused her step-son Charles to be poisoned, in order to make way for her own son Ferdinand to the throne. That young prince was acknowledged as heir and lieutenant of the kingdom, the usual title of the heirs-apparent of Arragon, in the Cortes assembled at Caletayud, shortly after the death of his brother Charles: but the suspicions entertained against his mother naturally enough extended themselves to him; and the grandees of Catalonia being already discontented with John, took this occasion to rebel. They were incited to this rash step chiefly by one Gualoes, a dominican friar of Barcelona, who never ceased to stir up the people against the queen and her son in his sermons, until the tumult in the city was such that she left it under colour of going to put a stop to some riots at Ampurias.

John having taken part in the rebellion of the Castilian grandees against Henry III., in the early part of his reign, that prince was persuaded, without much difficulty, to countenance the Catalans in their wars against him. But his policy, aided by the interference of Louis XI., soon detached Henry from their interest, and they offered their principality to Pedro, high constable of Portugal, as a near descendant of the ancient counts of Barcelona, whose heirs in

the male line ended with Martin, and to whom Pedro was at least as near in degree as king John.

Pedro willingly accepted the dangerous post, and embarked on board of a squadron, which the conspirators had sent him from Barcelona, where he arrived 1464, and was immediately proclaimed king of Arragon and Sicily. In the mean time prince Ferdinand, John's son, then only thirteen years of age, had put himself at the head of a considerable army, with which he gained a complete victory over don Pedro, at a place called Los Prados del Rey. Pedro however took several small towns and castles, but died a few months after the battle, having named prince John of Portugal as his heir. But the Catalans depending on the enmity of the house of Anjou against the brother of Alonzo the great, called upon René of Anjou, the titular king of Sicily, and brother to Louis, who had been a competitor for the crown of Arragon after the death of Martin, for assistance. René was too aged to take the field himself, but he deputed his son John duke of Lorraine, aided by the troops of Louis XI., who had abandoned the cause of John of Arragon in favour of his cousins the princes of Anjou.

King John was at this time enfeebled by age, but more distressed by total blindness, caused by cataracts, which his surgeon, a Jew of Lerida, named Abiabar, undertook to cure when the conjunctions of the planets should be favourable.

Accordingly he made the experiment first on the right eye; and afterwards the king insisted on his performing the same operation on the left eye, which he did with complete success, but not until he had waited for another favourable aspect of the heavens.

In the meanwhile John had been seconded in all his measures of defence by his queen, who during his blindness had acted as his lieutenant, going through all the business of the Cortes, receiving and answering foreign embassies, and not shunning the fatigues and dangers of the field. By her advice the prince, don Ferdinand, was proclaimed vice-roy of Arragon and Sicily, and he soon showed talents and courage equal to the situation. Yet the duke of Lorraine had taken Gerona, and gained a victory near Barcelona, over the troops of king John; but ere he could profit by it, he died, as it is said, of fatigue at Barcelona, a few months after John had lost his excellent queen Juanna Henriquez. She had left John at Tarragona, where he usually resided on account of his health, and had gone to Zaragoza to preside at the Cortes, at that time assembled there, when she died after a few days illness, to the great grief of her husband, who valued her according to her rare merits.

Don Ferdinand now entered more completely into the administration of affairs, and his prudence and justice had already made some impression on

the grandees who had opposed his father. After the death of John of Lorraine, the Catalans attempted to erect their principality into a republic, the capital of which was to be Barcelona; but that city was taken after a long siege by land and sea, and king John made his solemn entry there in 1472. Shortly afterwards Perpignan opened its gates to him; and though Louis XI. twice sent an army to recover it, prince Ferdinand kept possession, and regained the whole county of Roussillon, when a treaty was concluded with the French king, leaving him in possession of his conquests.

The treaty was soon however violated, and the French retook Perpignan in 1475; but the civil war in Arragon being at an end, the four last years of John's reign were passed in tolerable tranquillity. He died at Barcelona in 1479, having reigned fifty-four years in Navarre and nineteen in Arragon. He was eighty-two years of age, and was the second son of Ferdinand the Just. He was not wanting either in courage or policy, yet his reign was a continued series of tumult and civil war. He had never conciliated the people, and he offended the priests by too great liberality of sentiment towards Jews, heretics, and the professors of the *gaye science*, or poets and minstrels. By his first wife, Blanche of Navarre, he had one son, the unhappy Charles, usually called don Carlos, prince of Viana; and two daughters, Blanche, who died in the custody of her brother-in-law, the count of

Foix, and the count's wife, Leonor, who succeeded her father on the throne of Navarre. Her reign was however short. She died a few months after her accession, and her son Gaston Phœbus became king of Navarre. By John's second wife, Juanna Henriquez, he had don Ferdinand, who succeeded him, and donna Juanna, who married her cousin Ferdinand king of Naples: he left besides several natural children.

On the death of John, Arragon ceased to be a separate kingdom. His son Ferdinand, by his marriage with Isabella the catholic, was already king of Castile, and thus the two crowns were united. But we must return to the affairs of Henry's court after his useless conference with Louis XI. on the Bidassoa.

Henry suspecting that his ministers, the marquis of Villena, and his uncle the archbishop of Toledo, had betrayed him in the negotiation with France, banished them for a time from the court, and made his domestic favourite, Bertrand de la Cueva, his minister, under the title of count of Ledesma, to the great scandal of the people, who all looked upon Bertrand as the queen's lover. An union of the grandees was the immediate consequence: they resolved to seize the person of the king, and dismiss his unworthy favourite, in order to the better direction of the government. But Henry immediately offered to appoint five commissioners to regulate his affairs, and promised to reform all

abuses. These promises were however forgotten as soon as the danger was over, and the exasperated nobles proclaimed his younger brother Alonzo king of Castile and Leon, declaring that the queen's daughter, Juanna, was the illegitimate child of Bertrand de la Cueva.

But before they proclaimed Alonzo, they formally deposed Henry with the following solemnities *. "The weak and flagitious administration of Henry IV. having led them to combine against him, they arrogated as one of the privileges belonging to their order the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign. That the exercise of this power might be as public and solemn as the pretension to it was bold, they summoned all the nobility of their party to meet at Avila: a spacious theatre was erected in a plain, without the walls of the town; an image, representing the king, was seated on a throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against the king was read, and the sentence of deposition was pronounced in the presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the

* I cannot use any words which could give so well and clearly the sense of the Spanish historians of Henry IV. as those quoted in the text from Robertson.

image; at the close of the second, the count of Palencia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the conde de Beneventé wrested the sceptre from its hand; at the close of the last, don Diego Lopez de Stuniga tumbled it headlong from the throne."

Amidst the acclamations of the people which followed, Alonzo, lifted on the shoulders of the grandees, was placed on the platform the image had occupied, and declared king.

Henry was, however, soon able to raise a large body of troops to oppose the confederates, but his usual imbecility of purpose soon induced him to disband them, when they spread over the kingdom in companies, and committed all sorts of crimes. But Henry soon re-assembled them, and met the nobles in two or three doubtful battles during the three following years, when the death of Alonzo, of the small-pox, once more changed the aspect of his affairs.

Henry's sister, Isabella, had hitherto lived in seclusion, and even poverty; but she had a soul and understanding of an extraordinary quality, and a lofty ambition, which had kept her pure amid the vices of her sister-in-law's court. It had once been in contemplation to marry her to Alonzo Telles Giron, grand-master of Calatrava, on which occasion her grief and anger at the degradation of such an alliance were ungovernable. However, she was saved from the humiliation she dreaded, for Giron

died as he was on his way to solemnize the marriage.

On Alonzo's death the confederates offered the crown to Isabella, who refused to accept it to the prejudice of her brother; but as she believed donna Juanna to be illegitimate, she claimed the title of princess of Asturias, and as such was acknowledged heiress of the kingdom.

This title was confirmed by a treaty into which Henry entered with the grandees; by it he divorced his wife, disowned her child, and promised to send them into Portugal. Isabella was now sought in marriage by several neighbouring princes. The king of Portugal offered himself as a suitor; the king of France demanded her for the duke of Guienne his heir; and the king of Arragon, for his son, don Ferdinand. Two parties were now formed in the kingdom, one in favour of donna Isabella, the other to support the claims of donna Juanna. The friends of Isabella were more inclined to the marriage offered by Arragon than any other, and the princess herself was of the same opinion; but, in the mean time, the persons surrounding the king had persuaded him to break his faith with his sister, and to revoke the sentence of illegitimacy he had pronounced on donna Juanna. A scheme was therefore formed for seizing Isabella's person, and placing her in confinement; but it was baffled by the promptitude of her friends, by whose means she was speedily conveyed in safety to Valladolid, and lodged under the care of the

archbishop of Toledo, where she was joined by Ferdinand. That prince, hearing of her difficult situation, left his father in the midst of the Catalonian war, and went to Valencia to provide himself with the sum of money which it was agreed he should pay down on his marriage. Thence he proceeded in disguise with only four attendants to Valladolid, where the marriage ceremony was immediately performed by the archbishop of Toledo. The prince and princess then wrote letters to Henry to excuse the hastiness of their marriage. Isabella reminded her brother of her having refused the crown rather than be wanting in her duty to him; she also mentioned the force that she had been threatened with, and the sufferings of herself and her mother from neglect and poverty. She offered, in her own name and her husband's, all duty and submission to him, and entreated him to permit them to visit him, and earn his paternal care by their duty and obedience. A cold answer was returned: donna Juanna was acknowledged anew, and declared at Seville the heiress of the kingdom. On this Louis XI. negotiated for a marriage between her and the duc de Guienne; but after it had been solemnized by proxy, it was broken off on account of the doubts Louis entertained of her legitimate title to the crown of Castile.

In the year 1474, Henry, feeling his end approaching, permitted Ferdinand and Isabella to visit him at Segovia, where he died shortly afterwards,

naming the princess Juanna as his heiress. He was in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-first of his reign. Of him the historian Herreras has said, that "his life is a mirror in which princes may perceive every thing they ought to avoid." He was the last of the male line of Henry of Trastamare, and the most worthless. The bravery, the gallantry, the love of learning, which had distinguished his family, were all wanting in him. He did not even inherit their personal beauty, for his countenance was forbidding, and his aspect disagreeable.

On the death of Henry the kingdom was divided into two parties. The whole of the southern provinces, and some part of Galicia, embraced the cause of Juanna, while the rest of the kingdom supported Isabella. She was at that time at Segovia, but Ferdinand, her husband, was at Zaragoza, presiding at the cortes which his father had assembled in order to obtain supplies for the purpose of carrying on the war of Roussillon. As soon as the death of Henry was known, a platform was raised by the magistrates of Segovia in the market-place, and there Isabella, with her hand on the gospels, swore to maintain the rights and privileges of Castile, according to the ancient custom of the kingdom. The royal standard was then unfurled in her name, and the people shouted "Castile! Castile for king Ferdinand and queen Isabella!" they then all crowded round to kiss her

hands, and clothed in her royal robes, she proceeded to the cathedral to return thanks for this prosperous beginning of her reign, and to pray that the blessing might continue; there were but few of the nobility present, and none of the *grandees*.

The first who hastened to Segovia were Dezpuch the cardinal of Spain, and the duke of Benevente Rodrigo de Pementel; they were speedily followed by the archbishop of Toledo, the marquis of Santillana, the duke of Alva, the high constable, the high admiral, and the duke of Albuquerque. Others who could not immediately quit their posts sent their representatives to do homage to Isabella in their stead. But no homage was done to Ferdinand, because he had not yet taken the oaths of protection to the laws and customs.

That prince, however, no sooner learned the state of affairs in Castile than he left his sister Juanna, who was betrothed to the king of Naples, to preside in the cortes of Zaragoza, and came to Segovia, knowing that in all matters of a delicate nature in politics the presence of the person interested is the greatest security he can have for his success. He had no sooner arrived at Almazan, on his road to Segovia, than he was met by Francisco de Barbastro, sent by don Luis de la Cerda, duke of Medina Celi, to claim the kingdom of Navarre, in right of his wife donna Ana, the daughter of Charles, prince of Vianna, who had been legiti-

mated by a bull of the pope. To this extraordinary demand Ferdinand returned no answer, being well aware that the Castilian nobles, during the two last turbulent reigns, had been accustomed to sell their services to their princes at a very high price.

He then pursued his way to Segovia, where he was received with every demonstration of joy and respect, and the representatives of all the estates did him homage as their king. But it was by no means settled what part he was to take in the government. The Castilians maintaining that he ought to be content with the honour of being husband to the queen, without interfering in public affairs, or even taking the title of king; and they cited the example of Naples, where the queens Juanna I. and II. never gave their husbands that dignity. The Arragonians, on the other hand, maintained that the kingdom was Ferdinand's of right, for that Henry having died without sons, the inheritance devolved on Ferdinand, the nearest male heir. The jurists of Castile, however, cited the examples of donna Sancha, donna Urraca, donna Berenguela, and other queens, who had inherited the crown of Castile, and enjoyed it in their own right. At length the following terms were agreed to by both parties. That in all charters, laws, and diplomas, and on all the coin, the name of don Ferdinand should be placed before that of donna Isabella; but that on their escutcheon

the arms of Castile should be on the dexter side, and take precedence of those of Arragon. That the fortresses should be occupied in the name of Isabella; that the treasurers and tax-gatherers should account for their receipts in her name; and that she should have the appointment of all civil offices in Castile; the nominations to spiritual benefices were to be in the name of both. When the two sovereigns were together, justice should be administered jointly, near and far, in their united names; but when they were in different provinces, each should have power in his or her own name to pronounce judgment without appeal, in the courts.

Ferdinand was displeased at the conditions imposed, but especially that the subject should thus make terms with the ruler; nor was Isabella more satisfied; but they dissembled their discontent, resolving to baffle the designs of those who hoped, by imposing such restraints on the king, to rule by intrigues in the queen's court: at the same time it required the utmost prudence not to offend the grandees, who were at that juncture more powerful and richer than the sovereigns themselves.

The necessity of this prudence became every day more obvious: Pacheco, marquis of Villena, resolved to sell his services dearly; he was intriguing at the same time with Ferdinand, and with the king of Portugal, on account of the princess Juanna: the archbishop of Toledo, who

had so materially assisted Ferdinand and Isabella to acquire the kingdom, imagined them ungrateful, because they did not implicitly obey his councils, and on retiring from court drew with him a number of friends and followers; and the king of Portugal having determined on a marriage with donna Juanna, appeared on the frontier to assert her claim and his own to the kingdom. Meanwhile Ferdinand and Isabella had begun to win over many of the grandees by favours, but more by restitutions of ancient possessions, of which their families had been deprived in the late troubles. They entered into a treaty with Louis XI., and concluded, after many years, war between France and Arragon, a peace, which was not in the first years well observed by the king of France, who sent troops to harass Roussillon, in spite of the truce, whenever he found an opportunity. Ferdinand remained in old Castile to collect forces to oppose the Portuguese, while Isabella, in hopes of appeasing the archbishop, followed him to Toledo. He however avoided her by going to Brihuega, a small but strong place, where he shut himself up and refused to see her, or the constable Pero Hernandez de Velasco, whom she sent to pacify him. However her journey was not fruitless, for she secured the city of Toledo, and placed a garrison, on which she could depend, in the castle. She then returned to Segovia, where she caused all the royal plate and ornamental gold and

silver of every kind to be coined, and collected the money that had been contributed by the various towns, especially Medina del Campo, which was a great resort for merchants on account of the fairs held there, and where a large sum had been easily obtained from those who frequented them, by the duke of Alva, who commanded the fortress of Medina, and had zealously espoused the interest of the young king and queen.

Ferdinand had in the meanwhile secured Salamanca, Zamora, and some other places, and when he and Isabella went together to Valladolid, many others joined their party, so that they were soon ready to cope with the king of Portugal, who had advanced as far as Badajos on the frontier. In Palencia, which was occupied by some of the marquis Villena's party, donna Juanna and her betrothed husband were proclaimed king and queen, and shortly afterwards their partisans took possession of Zamora. On the other hand, most of the Spanish cities, from hatred to the Portuguese, declared themselves for Ferdinand and Isabella, and many took the opportunity of making a condition, that they should be inalienably united to the crown, in order to get rid of the oppressive government of the nobles. Ferdinand's force, which when he left Valladolid amounted to little more than five hundred horse, had increased every day till he arrived at Toro, where he met Affonzo of Portugal, and

completely routed his army in 1476. The duke of Arevalo, weary of the war, and despairing of the fortune of Juanna, passed over with many other noblemen to the party of donna Isabella, and by degrees the whole kingdom did the same.

The king of Portugal went to France immediately after the battle of Toro, in hopes of inducing Louis XI. to support his claims to Castile; but that monarch, after promising him assistance in general terms, excused himself from granting any positive succour, on the ground that he was too deeply engaged in his wars with the duke of Burgundy, and with England. At the same time a body of French forces, which was besieging Fontarabia, was recalled, and a truce made with the Biscayans, which was to be in force only on dry land, while their naval warfare with the French coast was to continue.

In the course of the same year, don John, king of Arragon, visited his son in Castile. Ferdinand and Isabella both went to Victoria to meet him. The aged monarch could not but recollect that he had not been in his native country since he had been forcibly deprived of his estates in it, and as king of Navarre had been obliged to accept of a pension, which was but ill paid, as an equivalent. He now came to embrace his son as king, and it is said that he burst into a passionate exclamation, thanking God and the blessed saints for the joy of that day, and praying, that since all sublunary happiness is prone to

change, evil, if evil were to arise, might fall upon his aged head, and not on his children or their subjects. He then, bathed in tears, kissed his son on the face, gave him his blessing, placed him on his right hand, and gave him, on all occasions, the place of honour. The experience and advice of king John were of material service to Ferdinand and Isabella, and it was not long before all the northern provinces of Castile were peaceably united under their government. The troubles in Andalusía lasted longer. The duke of Medina Sidonia had taken possession of Seville, and the marquis of Cadiz had seized on Xeres, under colour of defending those important places from the Portuguese, but in reality wishing to appropriate those strong holds, whence they might carry on their private wars, and dictate to their prince the conditions on which he might expect their services. Ferdinand was at this time in Arragon, whither he had accompanied his father, for the purpose of settling some affairs concerning Navarre, and of taking leave of his sister donna Juanna, then about to sail from Barcelona to Naples, to whose king, Ferdinand, she had been long betrothed. Isabella therefore marched to Seville, at the head of her troops, and soon took possession of the castle of Triana, and the magazines which the duke of Medina Sidonia had seized. Ferdinand quickly despatched his business in Arragon, and set out to join Isabella; but having reason to suspect some new conspiracy among the grandees, he obliged the

duke of Alva, and the count of Benevente, to accompany him. It was not long before all the strong places in Andalusia were given up, partly by force, partly by negotiation; and the king and queen seized the favourable opportunity of depriving those powerful grandees of the various towns and castles which the prodigality and weakness of the two last monarchs had bestowed on them. Isabella, by a refined stroke of policy, also annexed to the crown the grand-mastership of Santiago, which became vacant by the death of Roderigo Manrique, count of Paredes, and which was disputed between don Alonzo de Cardenas and the other knights. The matter being referred to the queen, she recommended them to bestow that distinguished honour on her husband, and, though reluctantly, she was obeyed. A few years afterwards, the grand-masterships of the two other orders, Calatrava and Alcantara, were in like manner disposed of, and the prodigious influence possessed by those fraternities thus annexed to the crown.

Another advantage, no less important, was gained at the same period. The bishopric of Zaragoza becoming vacant, the pope named a new bishop; this was opposed by king John, who wished to collate his grandson*, then only six years of age. The pope properly objected to the youth of the child, and nominated Ausias Despuch, cardinal of Spain,

* This was a natural son of Ferdinand's.

and a friend and favourite of Ferdinand and Isabella. but the right to the nomination was contested, and finally abandoned by the pope, and the cardinal was afterwards made bishop of Tarazona, by Ferdinand, in opposition to Andres Martinez, whom the pope wished to place in that see, vacant by the death of cardinal Ferrer. This opposition to the pope was the more effective, on account of the pious character maintained by Ferdinand and Isabella, who were both surnamed the catholic.

The affairs of the kingdom now began to prosper in all the provinces. Sardinia, which had always been a scene of civil war, was deprived of the aid of Genoa, by a treaty concluded between that republic and Arragon; so that the fleet of Ferdinand, under the admiral Villançaria, soon subdued the whole island; and the marquisates of Oristan and Gociano, which had hitherto been a refuge for all the opponents of the Spaniards, were finally annexed to the crown.

The same year the felicity of Ferdinand and Isabella was completed by the birth of a son, whom they named John, after his two grandfathers; and the joy occasioned by this event was universal, as it promised permanent internal tranquillity, under a prince born heir to both kingdoms. And this was the last occurrence of moment which John II. of Arragon lived to witness. He died the following year, at Barcelona, in the eighty-second year of his age, having reigned fifty-four years in Navarre,

and nineteen in Arragon. He died so poor, that they were obliged to pawn the furniture of the palace to pay the expenses of his funeral. His person was handsome, and his frame strong and agile, both in war and in the chase, of which he was very fond. His temper was lively, and his spirit bold and enterprising. He was fond of letters, and gave great encouragement to all professors of literature, art, or science. At his death the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon were united, and a new era of grandeur and importance opened to Spain, which, in a very few years, rose to be the first monarchy in Europe.

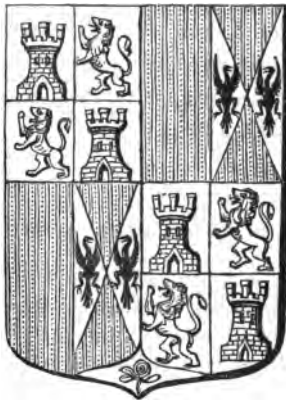
Table of the Kings of Arragon.

Sancho, the great king of Navarre, had married the heiress of Castile, which he erected into a kingdom for his second son, on his marriage with the heiress of Leon. On his death he left the country of Arragon to his fourth son, Ramirez, who became king of Arragon, and was the first who took that title, A. D. 1035.

	Began his reign.
Ramirez I.	1035
Sancho I. united the crowns of Arragon and Navarre	1063
Peter I.	1094
Alonzo I., surnamed the Giver of Battles	1104
Ramirez II., under his reign the kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre are separated	1134
Queen Petronilla, with her husband Raymond Berenger count of Barcelona	1137

	Began his reign.
Alonzo II., count of Barcelona and Provence	1162
Peter II.	1196
Jayme or James I. surnamed the Conqueror	1213
Peter III. married the heiress of Naples and Sicily	1276
Alonzo III.	1285
James II.	1291
Alonzo IV.	1327
Peter IV., surnamed the Ceremonious	1336
John I.	1387
Martin	1395
Ferdinand, surnamed the Just	1412
Alonzo V., called the Magnanimous	1416
John II.	1458

At John's death, in 1479, the kingdom of Arragon was united to that of Castile by the marriage of Ferdinand, the only son of John, to Isabella, the sister and heiress of Henry IV. of Castile.



Arms of Castile and Arragon.

The vicious character of Henry IV. of Castile, while it caused the greatest political and moral evils, could not arrest the progress of literature, which had now become irresistible in every part of Europe. The invention of printing in Germany, between the years 1430 and 1440, had facilitated the multiplication of books; and though the workmen at Haerlem, Strasbourg, and Mentz, were sworn to secrecy, and watched with jealous care, scarcely twenty years elapsed from the establishment of Fust's presses, when every country in Europe could boast of at least one printing-house. On the sacking of Mentz by the archbishop Adolphus, in the year 1462, the printers were all dispersed, and the different workmen employed by Fust were scattered over the world, so that France, Italy, Spain, and even Constantinople, were supplied with presses. The first printing press in Spain was set up at Valencia, and the earliest book printed appears to have been a Latin dictionary, dated February, 1475; a Sallust appeared the same year. Burgos was among the earliest cities in Castile, and Zaragoza in Arragon, to enjoy the new benefit, and Seville was not long behind them. Most of the works printed in Germany and Italy were either religious or classical, and those chiefly in the learned languages; but from the very first introduction of printing in Spain, it was employed on works in the vernacular tongue. One of the earliest Castilian prose books printed

was the letters of Fernan Gomez de Ciudad Real, who was forty-four years physician to John II. Spain also partook at this period of the general introduction of Greek literature into the West. The distress of the Greek empire on the approach of the Turks had induced the emperor Manuel to send various emissaries to his brother monarchs to implore assistance. Among these was Emanuel Chrysoloras, who afterwards became a professor of the Greek language at Florence, and laid the foundation for the restoration of Greek letters. On the nearer approach of the Turks, "the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople fled to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth;" the celebrated Bessarion, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was among those who took refuge in Rome, and was there respected as the chief and protector of his nation. His palace was a school which was attended by the learned of the east and west, and his appointment to the bishopric of Barcelona, during the reign of king John, naturally infused into Spain some of the learning which he had brought with him from his native country. Among those who cultivated letters were John, king of Arragon and Navarre, and his unfortunate son Charles, prince of Vianna. His brother Alonzo, king of Arragon and Naples, has been praised by Tiraboschi among the encouragers of letters in Italy. Mariana says he is a lasting honour to the Spanish nation: he was a friend to George of Tre-

bisond, Laurentius Valla, and Antonio Panhormita; and he employed Bartholomeus Faccio to write a history of his kingdom.

The sayings of this king are celebrated for their delicacy of expression and truth, and a collection of them has been preserved. His subject Ausias March, a native of Valencia, was among the most celebrated of the Provençal poets of the age, and his works, as well as those of his townsman James Roig, have been translated into Castilian. Roig wrote a satire against women called *Espil*, or the looking-glass, which has been imitated in a lively little poem by Prior. He was physician to Mary queen of Arragon, and lived to be near a hundred years old. The Provençals generally make use of the hendecasyllable verse; their poems consisted chiefly of sonnets, pastorals, and love-songs. At the union of the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon the peculiar poetry of Catalonia and Arragon was neglected, the Castilian language was universally substituted for the ancient romance, and together with the assemblies of the Troubadours at Barcelona, their songs fell into disuse, and the whole literature of the country became Castilian.

One of the great sources of disturbance during the reign of Henry IV. was the vicious state of the specie. The great variety of coins which was current was one cause of this, as it rendered it more difficult to detect false money; but the main

evil arose from a mischievous privilege of private coinage, granted by that monarch. Every thing capable of being used for the purpose was applied to it, so that, according to a cotemporary author, there was scarcely a jug, or a caldron, that was not purchased for six times its value, to be converted into money. There were meajas, old and new farthings, pennies, cornados, maravedis, old and new, reals, medios or half reals, and quartos or quarter reals of silver; groses of Avignon, and of Navarre, florins of Arragon, florins of Florence, crowns, francs, salutes, ducats, doblas of eight kinds, Alfonsines, Henriques, and English nobles. Of these, and the different alloy of the metals they were composed of, there is a clear account in the works of Saez, from which the following comparative table is copied.

GOLD COINS.

Coins of Henry IV.			Coins of the late king Charles IV.*		
	Maravedis.			Reales de Vellon.	Maravedis de Vellon.
	Old.	New.			
Dobla de la Banda	38	95	. .	61	29
— Maroquina	37	90	. .	60	8
Mouton	37	90	. .	60	8
Dobla Morisca	36	86	. .	58	21
Crown	35	82	. .	56	33
Frank	34	77	. .	55	12
Ducat	33	73	. .	53	25
Florin	21	50	. .	34	6

* The modern real de vellon is worth 32 maravedis de vellon.

SILVER COINS.

Coins of Henry IV.			Coins of Charles IV.	
	Maravedis.			Reales de Vellon.
	Old.	New.		Maravedis de Vellon.
Silver real . . .	3	8	. . .	20
				2

COPPER COINS.

	Coins of Henry IV.								Coins of Charles IV.	
	Blancas.	Cinquen.	Old Cornados.	New Cornados.	Old Deniers.	New Deniers.	Old Meajas.	New Meajas.	Maravedis de Vellon.	
Old Maravedi	2	4	6	12	10	20	60	120	29	} and a fraction.
New Maravedi	1	2	3	6	5	10	30	60	14	
Blanca	..	..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	15	30	7
Cinquen	1	..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	15	30	7	
Old Cornado	..	..	..	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	20	4
New Cornado	..	..	..	..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	10	20	2
Blanco	..	..	1	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	20	4
Agnus Dei	..	..	1	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	20	4
Old Denier	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	12	2
New Denier	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	6	1
Old Meajas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	.. nearly $\frac{1}{4}$
New Meajas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	less than $\frac{1}{4}$

But if the gold coins of Henry IV. are computed by the silver coins of the same reign, and these

There are 20 reales de vellon in a Spanish dollar : the intrinsic value of such a real is twopence and seven-twelfths of a penny sterling.

again by the coin of Charles IV., then the gold of Henry IV. will be found of less value, because the relative values of gold and silver have changed. In Henry IV's time, an ounce of gold was worth seven or eight ounces of silver only. In the time of Charles it was worth sixteen. So that, in reality, the value of the gold coin is as follows :

Coin of Henry IV.			Coin of Charles IV.	
	Old Maravedi.	New Maravedi.	Real de Vellon.	Maravedi de Vellon.
Silver real	3	8	2	20 ³³³ / ₁₀₀₀
Dobls de la Banda	36	95	31	12
Dobla Moresca	35	80	30	17
Florin of Arragon	21	50	18	10

} and a fraction.

As to the prices of provisions and other articles, the following list may give an idea of them :

	Maravedis of Henry IV.	Quartos Charles IV.	Reales de Vellon Chas. IV.	Maravedis Charles IV.
A. D. 1455.				
Wheat per fanega *	65	95	11	11
Barley	31	45	5	10
Oats	20	29	3	14
Wine per cantara †	24	35	4	4
A fowl	10	14	1	22
7 Chickens	24	33	3	30

* The fanega contains 3,487 English cubic inches. Our Winchester bushel contains 2,150 cubic inches.

† The cantara contains a little more than four English gallons.

	Maravedis of Henry IV.	Quartos of Charles IV.	Reales de Vellon of Chas. IV.	Maravedis of Charles IV.
1458.				
A mule 3 years old	1,200	1,320	159	8
Dry beans the fanega	80	88	10	12
Chestnuts 5 celemins *	20	22	2	20
A hundred limes .	20	22	2	20
A pair of man's shoes	19	22	2	20
A yard of white cloth	22	24	2	28
Incense per pound	40	44	5	6
Common nails 5 pounds	20	22	2	20
Salary of a master miller	10	11	1	10
Salary of a flax-dresser	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	22
Salary of a stone-mason	20	22	2	20
1462.				
6 pounds of mutton	16	22	2	20
10 pounds of beef	16	22	2	20
1 pound of wax .	40	50	5	30
1 pound of tallow candles	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	18
1463.				
A fine bull .	1,050	1,430	170	..
4 pounds of eels .	20	22	2	20
100 eggs . . .	25	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	8
5 pair of pigeons .	20	22	2	20
1000 Sardinias .	240	264	31	4
5 azunbres † of milk	10	11	1	10
7 pounds of cheese .	20	22	2	20
Butter per aroba ‡	140	154	18	4
10 pounds of rice .	30	33	3	30
Cantara of honey .	140	154	18	4
4 pounds of oil .	20	22	2	20
4 pounds of mustard	20	22	2	20
Salt per fanega	80	88	10	12
Sugar per pound	30	33	3	30
New copper per pound	30	33	3	30
Lime per fanega .	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	22
A load of straw .	60	66	7	26

* Celemin, the twelfth part of a fanega.

† Azunbre, eighth part of a cantara.

‡ Aroba, by weight 38 pounds avoirdupoise.

A great caldron cost 30 maravedis.

A thousand tiles 212 maravedis.

As to the salaries to domestic clerks they must have varied, but the monastery of Saint Bennet gave, in the year 1455, 1,000 maravedis.

	Maravedis.
The same monastery gave the physician	1,500
_____ barber	1,400
_____ factor	3,000
_____ a familiar	100 per month.
A carter had per annum	1,500
A ream of large paper cost 520 maravedis.	
An ounce of silk cost 45 maravedis.	

Among the accounts of don Alvaro de Estunga, for 1457, there is a sum of 220 maravedis paid to Rabi Salomon the surgeon, for attending the son of an inmate of his house, and 1,500 to Diego Sanchis Bachelor, for instructing his sons and the boys of his chapel. There are also 100 maravedis set down for feeding and attending his lady's parrots during her absence.

The prices of provisions, and consequently of other articles varied much however, and the variations were often very sudden. Spain has often suffered from famine owing to the imperfect state of its agriculture neglected by the Christian kingdoms, though practised with skill by the Moors. The country was besides often convulsed by civil wars, which, of course, disturbed the usual course

of traffic, and affected the prices of all goods imported even more than that of the native productions of the soil. In the reign of Henry IV. on one or two occasions the price of wheat was nearly double the average sum ; but, generally speaking, the prices above quoted are those throughout Spain, before the great change produced by the discovery of America, and the consequent influx of the precious metals into the country.



Isabella, queen of Castile.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS OF CASTILE
AND ARRAGON, A. D. 1479, TO THE DEATH OF
FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC, A. D. 1516.



Moors skirmishing.

AFTER the death of John II. of Arragon, the union of his kingdom under his son, with that of his daughter-in-law Isabella of Castile, followed of course, although both nations were resolved to preserve their separate rights and laws. Catalonia had also submitted to Ferdinand, and there re-

mained nothing now of all Spain but Grenada, that was not subject to the united crowns.

The ambition of Ferdinand, and the piety and policy of Isabella, were equally interested to effect the conquest of the Moors, and their first object was to place the affairs of Christian Spain in such a state as to permit them to apply their whole force to the accomplishment of that end.

Abul Hassan was at that period king of Grenada. He it was who a few years before being summoned to pay the ordinary tribute to the exchequer of Castile, answered, that "those kings of Grenada were no more who consented to so degrading a payment, and that in his reign wherever there was an arm to strike a coin for tribute, there was also one to forge a sword to deliver him from it." The state of the Christians was not at that time such as to permit them to revenge the insult, and the truce which then existed was accordingly renewed for a term which was to expire about the year 1485. But in the meanwhile, the Moors themselves impatient of the peace broke it, and set Ferdinand at liberty to commence those operations, which never ceased until he entered the Moorish capital as its sovereign.

Abul Hassan had learned that the Christians who composed the guard of Zehara, a strong fort between Ronda and Medina Sidonia, depending on the peace, were exceedingly negligent of their charge. He assembled a small body of cavalry,

consisting of the boldest Arab knights, and taking advantage of a dark and stormy night he surprised the place, slew most of the soldiers, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves to Grenada. Most of the nobility of Grenada went out to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, but one of the aged alfakis exclaimed, "I fear the ruins of that fortress will fall on our own heads; God grant I be deceived, but I cannot help foreboding that the term of our empire in Spain is fast approaching;" and this he said, knowing the fierce and tyrannical nature of the king. Abul Hassan had not only thus violently broken the truce, but he had not long before put to death wantonly four knights of the noblest house in the city, namely, that of Aben Zeragh, or Abencerrage. This family was the most beloved and admired in Grenada, for it was said that never did the distressed apply for relief to an Abencerrage in vain: they were peacemakers, the fathers of the orphan, lovers of their fellow-citizens, and loyal to their kings; kind to captive Christians, going to visit them in prison, and giving them food and raiment, and withal gallant, handsome, and discreet.

The governor of Seville, and Ruy Ponce, marquis of Cadiz, who commanded on the frontiers, resolved to revenge the capture of Zahara, and accordingly marched with great secrecy and expedition upon Alhama, a town in the immediate neighbourhood of Grenada: they surprised and seized

the gates in the night, but the Moors fought from street to street the whole of the next day, and in the evening the victory seemed doubtful, till a fresh body of Christians arrived and put an end to the strife, by killing all the inhabitants; not even the women and children who had taken refuge in the principal mosque were spared.* When the news reached Grenada, Abul Hassan was so enraged that he slew the messenger who brought the tidings, and caused the Alfaqui to be put to death who had prophesied his fall, after the taking of Zahara. There was scarcely a family in Grenada who had not to lament the loss of some relation or friend in Alhama, and along the streets mourning palls were displayed from every window. The king immediately rushed from the city accompanied by his knights, with their vassals and followers, to endeavour to recover Alhama, but in vain. He was able to effect nothing but the destruction of some villages and farms on the Christian territories, and returned to his capital on hearing that, during his absence, a conspiracy had been carried on against him within his own family, by his son Abu Abdalla, commonly called Boabdil by the Christians, whose chief abettor was his mother the sultana Zorayah. He was

* It was on this occasion that the famous ballad, *Ay de Mi, Alhama*, was written, originally in Arabic, and soon after in Spanish. The effect of it was such, that it was forbidden to be sung by the Moors, on pain of death, within Grenada. See the translation among lord Byron's poems.

not long before he seized the culprits, and imprisoned them in the strong tower of Comares. Zorayah, however, found means to communicate with her partisans in the city, and by the assistance of her damsels she lowered her son with cords from a window, when he was received by his friends below, and conveyed to the Albaycin, and there proclaimed king. Many brave knights among the noblest of the Moors fell that day; Abul Hassan, by the assistance of his brother Seleine, obtained possession of the Alhambra, where he continued to reign, and was called the sheik, while his son and rival, under the name of Zaquir, was acknowledged in the Albaycin *. The partisans of the two monarchs were perpetually skirmishing with each other, and much of the best blood in Grenada was shed in these unnatural combats, while the troops of Castile were ravaging the country up to the very gates.

During these internal disturbances, Ferdinand was not idle. Alhama had twice been nearly retaken by the Moorish companies sent from Grenada by Abul Hassan; and the king of Castile despairing of being able to keep a place situated

* These were two immense palaces, or rather fortresses, in Grenada. The unfortunate Abul Hassan had greatly beautified the Alhambra, and had planted gardens, and erected country-seats on the banks of the Darro, and of the Xenil, the two rivers which water the plain of Grenada. The Generalife was a part of the town famous for its gardens, and as being the burial-place of the kings.

in the very heart of the enemy's territory, had intended to abandon it, but Isabella insisted on its being maintained at whatever cost; and Ferdinand therefore laid siege to Loxa, another strong hold near it, the possession of which might protect it. The danger of this important place induced Abul Hassan to proceed in person at the head of his troops to endeavour to raise the siege. Loxa stands on the banks of the Xenil, and was defended by Ali Atar, the best and bravest of the Arab warriors, who in a sally defeated the Castilians, and obliged them to fly; when Abul Hassan, taking advantage of their discomfiture, once more renewed his efforts to regain Alhama. But the bishop of Jaen maintained it against him, while Ferdinand with fresh troops ravaged the plain of Grenada, which capital had now entirely disowned Abul Hassan, and even the Alhambra had submitted to his son. Malaga however still remained faithful to its ancient king, whose brother was governor there. He had not been long at that city, when the grand-master of Santiago, the governor of Seville, and the marquis of Cadiz, made an incursion into the neighbourhood; the soldiers of Abul Hassan, enraged at the audacity with which the Christians approached even to the walls of the place, sallied out upon them, and cut them off from retreat, by occupying the defiles of the mountains. Of two thousand five hundred Castilians, eight hundred were left dead on the field, and sixteen hun-

dred, loaded with chains, were led captive to Malaga. This victory was gained by Abu Abdalla, the brother of Abul Hassan, whose name being the same with that of his rebellious son, the two princes are often mistaken for each other; but the uncle is surnamed Zagal, the nephew Zaquir.

The success of the troops of Malaga was no sooner known in Grenada, than the people, always prone to change, imagined that no chief could redeem the affairs of the Moslem in Spain but El Zagal; and even threatened to make him king instead of Abu Abdalla Zaquir, whose character had grievously disappointed the chiefs who had raised him to the throne. He therefore, in order to quiet their murmurs, resolved on putting himself at the head of an expedition against the Christians, and marched to besiege Lucena in the district of Aquilar. But some of the aged warriors shook their heads as he passed the boundaries; for, as he left the city, his lance head was broken by striking against the gateway; and just as the troops marched out, a fox crossed their path, and none of the darts shot at him touched him. Abu Abdalla summoned the place as soon as he arrived before the walls, but the governor demanded a parley, and Hamet Abencerrage was appointed to treat with him; but it was only a stratagem to gain time, until the guards of the frontiers could be called to the assistance of the garrison. They accordingly arrived, and a sharp encounter took place, but the

Moors seemed on the point of carrying the fortress, when a fresh body of soldiers, under don Alonzo de Aquilar, arriving, the fortune of the day was changed; the celebrated chief Ali Atar was killed, having spent most of his ninety years of life in war against Castile; fifty knights, who fought around him, also fell in their places. Abu Abdalla fled, and endeavoured to conceal himself among the willows and alders on the banks of the river; but he was taken and carried to Ferdinand, who treated him with the humanity and respect due to a captive king. No sooner did the news of this unhappy event reach Grenada, than a general lamentation began, for every house had lost some member; and most of the nobles agreed to recall Abul Hassan, who once more took possession of the Alhambra.

But Ferdinand, who foresaw that by releasing his royal prisoner he should renew the civil wars among his enemies, and thereby induce them to combat each other, so that whichever side lost *he* must be the gainer, resolved to set the young king free. Zaquir eagerly accepted the terms on which his freedom was promised, which were as follows: that he should do homage to Castile for his crown, and as an acknowledgment of Ferdinand's superiority should annually pay a tribute of twelve thousand gold doubloons, and release three hundred Christian captives, such as the king should select; that he should hold himself in readiness to do him

service, both in peace and war; and, as a security for all, that he should deliver up his only son as an hostage. On the other hand, the king of Castile engaged to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom from his father. Mutual promises of friendship were exchanged at Cordova; and from that hour, says the Moorish historian, "the evil star of Islam spread its baleful influence over Spain, and foreshowed the end of the Mussulman empire of Andalusia."

The sultana Zoraya, being apprised of the approaching liberation of her son, prepared every thing in Grenada for his reception, and very shortly after his arrival he was once more in possession of the Albaycin. The parties of the two kings now had daily disputes within Grenada itself, yet the return of El Zaquir was celebrated with feasts and rejoicings, and those magnificent pageants were exhibited which are described in the history of the civil wars of Grenada, and which rather resemble the wonders of a fairy tale than the sober inventions of real personages. In the midst of these, Zayde, one of the Abencerrages*, killed a noble youth of

* The history of Zayde, called *Almanzor*, and the *Fair Zayda*, form the subject of the beautiful ballad translated by Dr. Percy, beginning, "Softly blow the evening breezes," and of many others.

Zayde commanded one of the king of Grenada's ships, and first saw Zayda when she went with her father on board to see the vessel at Almeria.

the house of Zegri, in a duel occasioned by jealousy ; and although, at the king's command, peace seemed to be restored between the respective families of the youths, the Zegries never forgave the death of their kinsman. After many fruitless efforts to revenge it by private means, they resolved to interest the king himself in their cause, and accordingly accused the chief of the enemy's family, Hamet Abencerrage, of seducing the queen. The king enraged would instantly have called him to a public account, but the Zegries suggested that the punishing an individual would be too trifling a revenge for so great an injury, and therefore that it would be better to take means for extirpating the whole lineage. Abu Abdalla listened too easily to the suggestion; a certain number of the Abencerrages was summoned to council in the Alhambra, and as they entered they were put to death in the Court of the Lions*, until thirty-six lay dead on the pavement; and the slaughter would have continued, but that a page ran into the town, and gave the alarm to the friends of the slaughtered gentlemen. The cry of treason was immediately raised; the friends and family of the Abencerrages gathered together; they entered the Alhambra, they attacked their enemies, and left not the palace until two hundred Zegries had atoned by death for the murder of the Abencerrages. Meantime the queen protesting

* That is, the court of the fountain supported by lions. See the cut representing the fountain, at p. 491, vol. i.

her innocence, and that of Hamet Abencerrage, who was among the first slain, demanded to clear herself by her knights in a fair field against her accusers; this could not be denied her, and the Zegries offered four of their best warriors to keep the lists for the king, against any knights whom she could bring against them. Meantime the widow of Hamet Abencerrage, who was the king's own sister, went with her two sons to implore protection of her brother; but he still furious, forgetting the ties of nature, murdered her and her children with his own hand.

This horrible deed alienated many from his party, who had till then favoured him; but as they had been instrumental in dethroning Abul Hassan for his sake, they would not recall the old king, but resolved to place Abu Abdalla el Zagal, his brother, on the throne. That prince's victory over the Christians on the plains of Malaga had inspired them with hopes that he might retrieve the fortune of the Mahometans, which they considered as nearly desperate, since the young king had been in such strict alliance with Ferdinand and his knights ever since he had been their prisoner.

Meanwhile the queen of Grenada, by the advice of a Christian slave, had written to don John Chacon, a Christian knight, to relate what had happened, and to entreat his assistance. This he promised; and accordingly on the very last day, at the last hour, he, with three of his companions, don Manoel

Ponce de Leon, don Alonzo de Aquilar, and don Diego of Cordova, disguised as Turks, appeared in the lists, overcame the four false Zegries, and thereby saved the queen from being burned alive. She was so grateful for this timely assistance, that she promised to become a Christian, and to assist king Ferdinand in his designs of taking Grenada, both which promises she performed.

Such of the Abencerrages as had survived the cruel slaughter of the Court of the Lions had been banished by the king, and they and their friends had been driven to take refuge with king Ferdinand, who spared nothing to engage them heartily in his service. Three of the family who were baptized immediately received titles of honour and estates to support them, and they were treated with such distinction as to induce many other Moorish knights to follow their example.

In the year following, Ferdinand knowing that the elder Abu Abdalla, called El Zagal, had left Malaga, and was at the head of a party in Grenada, and that the greater part of the inhabitants were engaged in an incursion into Andalusia, suddenly marched towards the city under pretence of reducing it and the neighbouring places for his ally, the younger Abu Abdalla. Malaga soon surrendered, many neighbouring towns followed its example, and terror and dismay spread throughout the whole Moorish people.

Of their two kings, Abu Abdalla was odious on

account of his alliance with Ferdinand, and still more so because he had banished the Abencerrages. Abul Hassan's age and blindness rendered him incapable of conducting the government, and at length the plan which had long been formed of placing Abu Abdalla Zagal on the throne was carried into execution. In the tumult occasioned by the Zegries, Abu Abdalla Zaquir had been driven from the Albaycin, to a summer palace within the town; but on the arrival of his uncle he fled to Almeria, and not finding himself safe there, he took refuge among the Christians. His brother was put to death with several of his partisans, and his mother Zoraya, who had first kindled the civil war, was confined a close prisoner.

Ferdinand taking advantage of these dissensions among the Moors, now harassed them unremittingly. Ronda was his; Malaga he had fortified; the important posts of Cambil and Albahar were soon reduced; but a check given by the new king Zagal to the count de Cabra, in an attack on Moclin, for an instant arrested his progress. Indeed the well-known talents of Zagal alarmed the king of Castile. The Moors, if united, were still powerful; and as they possessed the port of Almeria, it was not improbable that they might receive succours from Africa, or from the Turks, whose rapid conquests at that time spread terror over all Christendom. He therefore favoured the return of the younger Abdalla into the capital,

where he had still some partisans; and that prince taking advantage of his uncle's absence on the coast, entered the city secretly, regained the Albaycin, and was once more acknowledged as king by a part of the inhabitants. And now the most cruel war raged within Grenada itself; day after day the streets were filled with combatants, who fought from house to house; the Albaycin was assaulted by Zagal at one moment; at another the troops of his nephew sallied out against him, and drove him back; Ferdinand from time to time sending assistance to his ally, and thereby supplying the means to continue the horrible warfare.

While such was the state of the capital, Loxa, Llorca, Zagra, Balnea, and Moclin, had opened their gates to the Christians. Zagal had in vain despatched a body of chosen troops to dispute the passage of the Xenil. Ferdinand in person carried that important post, and pursued the Moors to the olive yards, close to the walls of Grenada.

During the three following years the same scenes of civil discord among the Moors continued; and with equal vigilance and skill Ferdinand improved every opportunity of fomenting their discord, and gained town after town while the kings were disputing for their nominal government. Zagal had been forced to abandon Grenada to his nephew, and had done all that desperate courage could do to defend such places as remained yet unconquered in his ancient princi-

pality of Malaga: but in 1489 despairing of the Moorish cause, and choosing rather to surrender to Ferdinand than to Abu Abdalla, who was now become an object of hatred to every Mussulman, he resigned to the Christians all the places to the eastward of Grenada; and there now remained of the Arab empire in Spain only the city of Grenada itself. Zagal retired to Oran on the African shores, where his descendants still bear the title of the sons of the sultan of Andalusia.

Ferdinand now reviewed his armies, and found that the three last years had cost him twenty thousand men, partly reduced by famine, and partly slain by the enemy. Yet he resolved to prosecute the siege of Grenada with vigour, but in the meantime sent to remind Abu Abdalla of the promise he had made to deliver the city into his hands as soon as he should have subdued the strong places held by Zagal. It was now that Abu Abdalla, being delivered from his rival on the throne, resolved really to defend his faith. He assembled the chiefs of the noble Arab tribes, and related to them the demand made by Ferdinand, telling him that there remained no choice, but either to deliver up the city at once, or to resolve to bury themselves in its ruins. With one voice they exclaimed they would defend it to the last breath, and accordingly prepared for desperate resistance. While under the first impulse of enthusiasm, a party sallied from the town and took possession of Alhendin, a little

fortress at a short distance. This slight success encouraged them as a good augury; the inhabitants of the mountains and valleys of Alpuxara rose with one accord against the Christians; the Moors in some of the seaport towns attempted to seize the fortresses which Ferdinand had garrisoned, and for a moment the Arabs seemed on the point of recovering their lost state. But it was an expiring effort; the troops of Ferdinand soon reduced those of Alpuxara, and the marquis of Villena, marching towards the coast, secured the garrisons from any further danger of assault.

The winter quarters of the Spanish troops were this year at Seville, where, resolved on terminating the contest at once, Ferdinand collected all his resources and prepared all his measures for the ensuing campaign.

Grenada is built on two hills separated by the Darro, a little river which runs into the Xenil below the town. The hills slope gently westward to a vast plain called the Vega, and to the east are the mountains of Alpuxara, the summits of which are covered with eternal snow, and which extend for seventeen leagues to the southward; where they touch the Mediterranean shore. The city was then surrounded by a double wall, fortified with thirty thousand towers, and to the westward the walls and batteries were multiplied so that the place appeared inexpugnable: On the

top of one of the hills was the fortified palace of the Alhambra, on the other was the Albaycin, separated from the rest of the city by a strong wall. The country around was in the highest state of cultivation; the corn fields were the richest, and the orchards and mulberry groves the most productive of Spain; the vine and olive yards were extensive and well kept; and even the flower gardens, from whose produce the most delicious perfumes were distilled, were a source of wealth to the industrious Grenadines.

Ferdinand knew too well the strength of Grenada, to expect that any thing but famine could reduce it: his first object was therefore to destroy the harvests, and he sent some light troops to burn the corn and root up the fruit trees, before he arrived with his main force to invest the place. He placed his head-quarters at the springs of Guetar, two leagues from the city, and thence he daily sent foragers to take what might be wanted to supply his troops, and to destroy all that could not be carried off. The near approach of the Christian force alarmed even the stoutest of the Moslem warriors. A council was held, the people were numbered, the men able to bear arms were counted, the provisions examined and estimated, and their hearts sank within them as they considered the number they had to feed, and the havoc the soldiers of Ferdinand had committed in the

country: all but Muza, the brave brother of the king, seemed to despair; but he cheered them by his spirit, and undertook the defence of the gates, and for the three first months of the siege the barriers were never shut night or day, for they trusted in the watchfulness of Muza, and he daily led out parties to battle with the Christians, and often proceeded even to the trenches of the assailants. The Zegries and their friends undertook the defence of the walls; the vizir was commissioned to issue the provisions, and the arms and ammunition, and attend to the musters of the soldiers. Upwards of a hundred villages of the Alpuxaras were burned by Ferdinand's troops, so that they could no longer supply the city with food, and the beans and maize, the only harvest that had hitherto escaped, were now destroyed just as they were ripening. But still the king of Grenada hoped that the winter must bring with it some relief, as it would put an end to the campaign. That hope was however vain. Ferdinand resolved to persevere in the siege until the town yielded, and he accordingly caused huts to be constructed capable of protecting the soldiers from the inclement weather, forming them into regular streets surrounded by a wall, and calling the whole place Santa Fe; thus giving it the character of the headquarters of a crusade against the infidels. Muza no sooner saw this work than he resolved to attack it. Accordingly collecting all the force of the city,

he sallied out against the new fortification. The Castilians and Arragonese came out to meet him. The cavalry fought desperately; but the Moorish foot fell into disorder and fled to the gates, whither they were pursued by their enemy, and Muza, filled with rage and despair, "retired, breathing fury like a maddened bull or wounded lion," to the city, swearing never to go out again with the infantry, and at length closing the gates, whose defence he could no longer trust to the troops. This was the signal of despair: and now nothing but famine or submission remained for the noble Arabs of Grenada. The elders counselled the latter, when they looked on the pale and famished faces of the women and children. Still Muza said it was time enough to yield when all was gone; but no one supported him, and the vizier Abul Cazim Abdulmelic, went to the Christian camp to offer conditions of surrender to Ferdinand.

It was agreed then, that if the king of Grenada received no aid by land or sea within sixty days, he should yield the two fortresses to the king of Castile and Arragon; that Abu Abdalla and the chiefs of the Arab tribes should swear fealty to Ferdinand as their superior lord; that they should release all Christian captives whatever; that they should give five hundred noble youths as hostages. The Moors were to have liberty of conscience and worship, and enjoy their own mosques, with the revenues attached to them: and they were

to be judged by their own laws, administered by their own magistrates. They were to be exempt from taxes for three years, on account of the damage done by the Christian soldiers, and after that time the tribute was to be the same as that exacted by the Moorish kings. And moreover such as chose to emigrate should be at liberty to do so, and carry with them all their property, and that Ferdinand should furnish them with vessels.

When the vizir returned and made known the terms agreed on with Ferdinand, the council could not refrain from tears. The intrepid Muza alone started up, and begged them, for the sake of honour and religion, to leave those marks of feeling to weak women and children, and to join him in one more desperate effort to free themselves, or at least to find an honourable death. "Think ye," said he, "that the conqueror will keep his word? No; he thirsts for our blood! he hates our faith! Your houses will be ransacked, your mosques polluted, your homes violated; oppression, injustice, cruelty, and intolerance, will light fires to consume your bodies. The coward who is base enough to live will see these things. But since death must come to all, why not employ the short moments we have in glorious purposes? God forbid it should be said that the noble Grenadines dared not die for freedom and their country!"

Muza was then silent. Nor did any one reply or look up. The chief then strode out of the hall.

He was seen to take his armour and his horse out at the Elvira gate, but he was never more heard of. The sixty days being expired, the family of Abu Abdalla took their sorrowful way towards the Alpuxaras, and left the chief Tomiha to deliver up the forts to Ferdinand. The Moorish king himself, with fifty knights, went out to meet the Christian prince, who was dressed in royal robes, and was followed by the queen and their children; and when he approached, he made as if he would have dismounted, but Ferdinand would not permit it. Then riding up, he kissed his right arm, and said, looking towards the earth, "Now, oh king, we are thine; God grant that thou mayest use thy victory mercifully!" and then he delivered up the keys of the city. Ferdinand received them, and then gave them to Isabella to put into the hands of their son, don John, who gave them to don Inigo de Mendoza, the new governor of Grenada. The king of Castile received Abu Abdalla with great courtesy, assured him of friendship and protection, and confirmed the gift of Pinchena and its dependencies to him and his family. They then parted; Ferdinand to take possession of his conquest, and Abu Abdalla to join his family in the mountains. When he came to Padul, the last point from whence the city of Grenada is visible, he turned round and wept, and raised the cry of Alahû akbar! and his mother Zoraya turned to him and said, "Well mayst thou weep like a woman over that which

thou didst not defend like a man *!" And thus ended the empire of the Mussulmans in Spain, in the seven hundred and eighty-second year after the first conquest under Tarikh. Ferdinand and Isabella took possession of Grenada on the 6th of January, 1492, with great pomp, and thus became the sovereigns of the whole of Spain. It has been observed by an excellent writer that this "event was glorious, not only to Spain, but to all Christendom, and which, in the political combat of the two religions, seemed almost to counterbalance the loss of Constantinople. It raised the name of Ferdinand and the new monarchy he governed to high estimation throughout Europe."

It will now be necessary to look back a few years to other events which were passing in Castile; but the history of the last Moorish war appeared of too much consequence to be interrupted by any other subject.

The character of Ferdinand was ambitious, covetous, and politic; a zeal for religion, real or affected, was displayed in his warfare with the Moors, and in some other enterprises of a less honourable nature. Isabella was equally ambitious, little more generous, and almost as profound a politician as her husband, when her bigotry, which was real, did not hurry her into measures hurtful

* Abu Abdalla retired to Africa, and died in battle about a year afterwards in the service of his relation the king of Fez.

to the kingdom. It is not wonderful that under two sovereigns of such character the inquisition, which, in its old form, had been little felt in Spain, since the destruction of the Templars, should not only be revived where it before existed, but be established with greater powers than ever, in the various provinces. Hitherto the Christians, Jews, and Moors, had lived in tolerable harmony in Spain. On two or three occasions, indeed, the people had been stirred up to persecute the Jews in order to seize on their riches; but these troubles were but transitory, and all parties were equally protected by law.

The immense trade carried on by that industrious nation had thrown the greater part of the wealth of Spain into their hands, and most of the Christian families had become their debtors. During the civil wars in the first part of the fifteenth century, these debtors had taken frequent opportunity of persecuting their creditors, and a general prejudice was gaining ground against them; so that many, to escape public scorn, were baptised, and were known as *new Christians* or as *Maranos*, a word borrowed from an imprecation in their own tongue. It was suspected that many of the new Christians were only occasional conformists to the church, and that, in secret, they continued in their old faith. Such a crime was not overlooked by the Dominicans, who might each be considered as an inquisitor, whether commissioned or not; and they

resolved to use every effort to establish the new, or, as it was called, the reformed inquisition in Spain. About the year 1477, the grand inquisitor of Sicily applied to Ferdinand on behalf of the holy tribunal, which claimed a right to seize on a third of the property of condemned heretics. The king immediately perceived that such a right once established might be made the source of immense wealth, and accordingly determined to establish inquisitorial tribunals in all his states. Reports were soon spread that such Jews as had been baptised had only submitted to the ceremony from motives of fear, that they had all in secret rejoined their congregation, and that they sacrificed little Christian children in ridicule of the crucifixion of Christ. Still, however, the people thought that the old tribunals had sufficient power to punish, and resisted, especially in Arragon, to the utmost of their power, the establishment of the new. Queen Isabella also, for some time, refused to sanction their introduction into Castile; but her confessor, Thomas de Torquemado, a cruel and bigoted Dominican, who possessed great power over her mind, persuaded her that it was for the true interests of religion, and absolutely necessary for the preservation of Christianity in Spain; so that at last she commissioned her envoy at Rome, Santillana, bishop of Osma, to procure a bull for the establishment of an inquisition in Castile. The cortes assembled at Toledo earnestly

opposed it, and, to take away the pretence of necessity, renewed the various regulations restricting the intercourse of Jews with Christians, and prohibiting them from exercising certain professions. However, towards the end of the same year, Ferdinand and Isabella both being at Medina del Campo, they named two inquisitors and two assistants, one of whom was Juan Lopez de Barco, the queen's chaplain, and issued orders that they and their suite should be provided with all they might require, on their journey to Seville, by the governors of the several provinces they might pass through; but their purpose was so unpopular that they found it impossible to collect the number of persons necessary to execute their office in all Seville, until a compulsory order to that effect was issued by the queen. The new Christians immediately emigrated into the states of the duke of Medina Sidonia, the marquis of Cadiz, the count of Arcos, and such other nobles as held estates without the queen's jurisdiction; but the first edict issued by the inquisitors compelled those noblemen to give up the fugitives under pain of excommunication.

And now a scene of persecution and cruelty began, which far exceeds in atrocity any thing which history has related. Every tie of nature and society was broken, every duty and every relation violated, and torture forced from all alike false accusations, betrayal of friends, confession of impossible crimes; while the actors in these horrible

tragedies were shielded by impenetrable secrecy from the revenge of their victims and the detestation of society.

Within one year of the establishment of the inquisition at Seville, two hundred and ninety-eight *new Christians* had been burnt, and seventy-nine imprisoned for life in the city alone; but in the whole district of Seville and Cadiz two thousand were burned, and one thousand seven hundred suffered other punishments. The greater part of the wealth of these unhappy persons was divided in different proportions between the tribunal and the king and queen. It was on the hill of the *Tablada*, near Seville, that the stone flooring called the *quemadero*, or fire-place, was laid, and that four images of the prophets were profaned by being placed there as pillars to which the victims were chained while the flames consumed them.

Many of the new Christians now emigrated to France, to Africa, and to Portugal, where the king protected them on the payment of a light tax, which was remitted by his successor. Not a few fled to Rome, where they appealed to the pope against their persecutors, and he threatened to deprive the inquisitors of their office. But the representations of the queen's ambassador, and the importance of preserving the friendship of Ferdinand and Isabella, then engaged in the holy war against the Moors, prevented his holiness from effectually relieving the complainants; instead of

which he allowed the queen to appoint an apostolical judge of appeal in Spain, and thus cut off all hopes of protection from the victims of the holy office.

In Arragon the resolution of Ferdinand to establish the reformed inquisition gave rise to a civil war. In 1483, Torquemada, whose zeal it was supposed could be depended on, was appointed inquisitor general : his delegate in Arragon, a man of as fierce a spirit as himself, was put to death, and the consequences of that act were dreadful. It is said that not one of the great families of Arragon escaped the disgrace of having one at least of its members burnt for the murder, as it was called, of a Dominican friar, to whom Ferdinand and Isabella erected a magnificent monument, and who was afterwards beatified by pope Alexander VII. A noble knight of Navarre was compelled to do public penance for having sheltered in his house, for a single night, some fugitives who were escaping from the holy office at Zaragoza. Six other noblemen were condemned to the same disgrace for attempting to protect some of the accused. Yet it was four years before it was possible by any means to establish the new tribunals in Arragon or Catalonia. Barcelona held out longer ; but was forced to yield on Torquemada's being appointed special inquisitor to that city. The grounds on which the cortes of Arragon refused to sanction the inquisition were, that it was incompatible

with their rights, for that in its tribunals the witnesses were never confronted with the accused, and that torture, which had long been abolished by their laws, was used. But nothing availed. The king was now too powerful to be withstood; and the terror inspired by this engine of tyranny was such, that zeal for its success was feigned by many of its former opposers, as the only means of escaping from its cruelty. Sardinia and the Balearic islands were the last places where the inquisition was set up in the year 1492, when the king and queen, satisfied at having established a tribunal which, while it protected religion, enriched their coffers, and exulting in their final victory over the Moors, ventured upon a step of the most arbitrary and the most impolitic nature.

This was no other than the banishment of the Jews from their dominions; a measure no doubt dictated by the fanaticism of Torquemada, seconded by the bigotry of the queen, but which Spain had long reason to deplore. From Grenada, of which they had just taken possession, they published an edict, commanding all Jews to leave their dominions within four months, that interval being allowed them to dispose of their estates; but within one month, Torquemada forbade, in the name of the holy office, all intercourse between the Christians and Jews; so that such of their property as was not moveable could with difficulty be disposed of, and naturally fell into the hands of

their enemies. The persecuted race embarked in large bodies for the Levant, for Italy, and for Africa, preserving in all places the memory and the language of their native land. It is said that on this occasion one hundred and seventy thousand of the most industrious families in the country were driven out. Some even assert that there were not less than eight hundred thousand souls. Yet many remained and changed their faith rather than abandon their country, and some risked remaining as they were, and perished.

The spirit of discovery, which had been active for nearly a century in Portugal, and had led that enterprising people at length to India and its riches by the Cape of Good Hope, first doubled in 1497, by Vasco de Gama, had been kept under in Spain by the necessity of applying all the resources of the kingdom to the reduction of the Moors; but now the period arrived when Spain took the lead in distant enterprises and conquests, and her ships made a discovery which doubled the extent of the known world, and the consequences of which are not yet fully developed.

Among the foreigners of enterprise whom the fame of the Portuguese navigators had attracted to the court of king Joam II. was Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a Genoese. He settled at Lisbon, and married the daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the early navigators employed by prince Henry of Portugal, from whose experience

he derived much knowledge, and whose observations he listened to with that attention which Columbus applied to every circumstance, however minute, which could assist him in his favourite studies of geography and navigation. The great object of Portugal at that time was to find a way to India and China by sea. But the slow progress made between the doubling Cape Bogador and reaching the southern point of Africa suggested the idea, that, by putting boldly out to sea, and sailing westward, a shorter way would inevitably be discovered, since the rotundity of the earth was now scarcely disputed. In the year 1474, he communicated his ideas on the subject to Paul Toscanelli, a Florentine physician, who encouraged him in his theory, and entreated him to persevere in endeavouring to persuade some of the princes of Europe to undertake the experiment. He applied first to the senate of Genoa, and afterwards to the king of Portugal, while he sent his brother to Henry VII. of England. In some of the courts to which he applied he was considered as a visionary, in others caution and delay prevented the adoption of his views, and ten years elapsed before he found even the shadow of encouragement; but at that time, 1484, he resolved to solicit the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella in person; and from documents preserved in the archives of the council of the Indies it appears that they furnished him with money, probably for his travelling expenses to visit

them. Ferdinand was too cold and cautious to risk the expense of a fleet for an uncertain gain; Isabella was strongly inclined to patronise the intelligent stranger, but referred the consideration of his plans to such persons as appeared best qualified to judge of them. Their opinion was so unfavourable, that Isabella's patronage, if not actually withdrawn, was indefinitely deferred; and he was told that nothing could be done until the war with the Moors should be over.

But during Columbus's attendance at the Castilian court he had acquired some valuable friends, and among them Juan Perez, guardian of the monastery of Rabida, near Palos, for whom Isabella had a great respect, and who failed not to recommend Columbus to her in the warmest manner. He had also secured the friendship of the duke of Medina Celi. This nobleman laid his plans before the celebrated Roderick Ximenes, cardinal of Spain, and archbishop of Toledo, who had succeeded Torquemado as the queen's confessor; and he committed the care of the business to Alonso de Quintanilla, the comptroller of the finances in Castile.

Twice was Columbus called to the court, which he found the first time in the camp before Malaga, and the next time at the cantonments of Santa Fé before Grenada, and each time to be disappointed; so that he had resolved to leave Spain, and seek in England that assistance without which he could

not hope to see his ideas as to the geography of the globe realized. At length, however, at the moment when Ferdinand and Isabella were elated by the conquest of Grenada, the patrons of Columbus, seizing the happy moment of success, ventured to plead his cause anew. The arguments they used in favour of his undertaking, and the representations they made of his character and abilities, dissipated the fears that Isabella had entertained. She regretted the low state of her finances, almost exhausted by ten years' war against the Moors, and offered to pawn her jewels to raise money for the necessary equipments for the voyage; but Santangel, the receiver of the ecclesiastical revenue in Arragon, to save her from that expedient, immediately engaged to advance the requisite sum himself. Thus, after eight years of constant solicitation, Columbus attained his object, and, on the 17th of April, 1492, an agreement to the following effect was entered into between the king and queen and Christopher Columbus. 1st, Columbus and his heirs for ever should enjoy the office of high-admiral of Castile, with all its powers and prerogatives. 2d, The king and queen appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the lands he should discover; and if at any time it should be found necessary to establish a separate governor in any province, he was to be chosen by the sovereign out of three persons named by the viceroy, whose

dignity was to be hereditary in his family. 3d, A tenth of the clear revenue arising from the new discovery was promised to Columbus and his heirs for ever. 4th, All disputes to be determined by the sole authority of Columbus. 5th, Columbus was permitted to advance one-eighth of the expense of preparation for the expedition, and was entitled to an eighth of the profit. It is remarkable that Ferdinand did not take any part in the expedition, as king of Arragon; and consequently the exclusive right to all the benefits that might arise from it was reserved for Isabella's Castilian subjects.

Of three vessels which were now intrusted to Columbus by the queen, two were furnished by the town of Palos, a small port of Andalusia, which had incurred the queen's displeasure, and was condemned as a fine to furnish two good vessels, called caravels, for her service.

The largest ship of the little fleet was the Santa Maria, and was commanded by Columbus himself; the two smaller ones, called the Pinta and the Nunia, were under the care of the two brothers, Martin Pinzon and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, while a third Pinzon acted as pilot in Martin's ship.

About the twelfth of May the vessels were ready, and Columbus went to court to receive the final orders and instructions of the king and queen. Isabella appointed some gentlemen of her court to accompany him; and the crews of his three

vessels amounted to ninety seamen, and a few adventurers; the squadron was victualled for twelve months, but the whole expense did not exceed four thousand pounds sterling.

On the second of August, the admiral having taken leave of the queen and of his family, marched with all the persons under his command in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida, which overlooks Palos. After the ceremonies of confession and absolution were over, Columbus's first friend in Spain, Perez, the guardian of the monastery, administered the holy sacrament to them, and joined them in their prayers for success.

The next morning, being Friday, the third of August, the fleet got under weigh a little before sunrise, in the presence of crowds of spectators, who poured forth blessings and prayers for its success. On the 13th of the same month, Columbus reached the Canary islands, and there refitted his ships, which were found to be ill appointed, and scarcely sea-worthy: but nothing could damp the admiral's ardour; and after giving them such repairs as were absolutely requisite, and laying in fresh provisions and water, he again set sail on the sixth day of September. And now the perils of the voyage began. For thirty-three days he sailed across an unknown ocean, and saw stars unseen before by European eyes. On the 13th of September, Columbus perceived that the magnetic needle, hitherto the unerring guide of the mariner,

no longer pointed to the true north. On the 17th, the prodigy, for such it then seemed, became known to the sailors, and there was fear and alarm, which rose almost to mutiny, in the ships; but still the admiral calmed their disquiet. When the trade-wind blew stronger and stronger, and every day in the same direction, the seamen thought that they must sail on for ever before that commanding blast, and despaired of being able to return: so they mutinied again, but were again quieted by their pious commander, whose faith and trust in God enabled him to bear up against the murmurs of his men and the strange perils of the sea, as it had kept him from despair in the long attendance he had paid at the court of Isabella. At length, on Thursday, 11th of October, a man, named Roderigo de Triana, shouted land! from the mast-head of the Pinta; but it was too late to be sure that he was not deceived. No one slept that night, and the ships sailed on till two hours past midnight, when the shore of the island Guanahani, one of the Bahamas, was distinctly visible. The hymn of *Salva Regina* was instantly sung, and the ships lay-to till next morning, when they ran close in to examine the land they had discovered, while the *Te Deum* was sung by the crews of all the vessels.

And now, those who had murmured against the admiral, who had talked of putting him in chains, and forcing him to return to Spain, threw them-

selves at his feet, and entreated forgiveness for their distrust, promising confidence and obedience in future; and indeed they were now ready to worship him as one inspired by Heaven. As soon as the sun rose, a boat from each vessel was manned and armed. The standards of the green cross, which distinguished Columbus's fleet, were displayed; and the admiral dressed in a rich dress, having a naked sword in his hand, was the first European who set his foot in the new world. His men followed, and kneeling down they all kissed the ground they had so long desired to see. A cross, having on its arms the initials of Ferdinand and Isabella, each surmounted by a crown, was erected, solemn mass was performed before it, and formal possession was taken of the land in the name of Isabella, queen of Castile and Leon.

A number of the natives surrounded the strangers, and gazed with wonder on ceremonies whose import they could not guess, any more than they could foresee the cruel consequences to themselves and their countrymen. The colour and dress of the Spaniards, the size of their ships, with their sails, and their fire-arms, all impressed the ignorant and gentle natives with an idea that their visitors were beings of a superior order; as such they were ready to worship and obey them, until their subsequent conduct gave the poor Indians room to believe that they were demons, not men. But Columbus was free of all blame. He was just to their claims,

careful for their interests, and too truly pious to wish to injure those who, equally with himself, were the children of his Almighty Father.

The island of Guanahani, with some others of the same group, at which Columbus touched, were all extremely poor, but the natives pointed to the south as the quarter from whence some pieces of gold, found among them, were procured. Thither the admiral accordingly steered, and discovered first Cuba, and then Hayti, to which he gave the name of Hispaniola; there, having obtained the consent of the natives, he built a small fort, which he called Navidad, and left Diego de Arado of Cordova to act as its governor, until he should return from Spain.

On the 16th of January, 1493, Columbus having on board of his ships some of the natives of the new land, a quantity of gold, specimens of all the productions likely to become objects of commerce, and a collection of rare animals, plants, and other curiosities, set sail on his return to Spain. Just as he had reached the coast of Europe, a violent storm arose, which forced him into the Tagus, and, notwithstanding the jealousy of all discoverers entertained by Portugal, the king received him with great respect, and listened with admiration to his account of his voyage. The moment the weather permitted he left Lisbon, and proceeded to Palos, where he arrived on the 15th of March, 1493, seven months and eleven days after his departure.

As soon as the ship was seen approaching, all the inhabitants of the place ran to the shore to welcome her. When they saw the strange people, the unknown animals, the singular productions brought from the new countries, their joy was unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired, and all the people accompanied Columbus and his crew to the same church where they had offered up their prayers on departing, to return thanks for the prosperous issue of the voyage.

Ferdinand and Isabella were at Barcelona when they heard of his return and his success. He was respectfully invited to court, that they might hear from his own mouth the details of his voyage. On his way thither, the people from all parts of the country flocked together to see him as he passed, and his entrance to the city was conducted with pomp suitable to the great event, which had added another land to their dominions. The natives of the new country marched first; then the rude ornaments of gold were borne along, together with the grains and sand of the same precious metal, found in the mountains and rivers; and after these the new and strange animals, and other curious or useful productions of the islands. Columbus himself closed the procession.

Ferdinand and Isabella received him clad in their royal robes, seated on a throne under a magnificent canopy. They stood up as the admiral approached, and when he knelt to kiss their hands,

they raised him, and commanded him to take his seat on a chair provided for him, and to give them an account of the wonders and dangers of his voyage. When he had finished his narration, the king and queen fell on their knees and offered up solemn thanks to God for the discovery. Every mark of honour that gratitude could suggest was paid to Columbus. His family was ennobled, and the whole court, following the example of the sovereigns, paid him the highest respect: but that which gratified him most was the order to equip a squadron of sufficient force, to take possession of the new countries, and to prosecute his discoveries.

The success of Columbus excited a wonderful degree of enterprise throughout Spain. Volunteers of every rank solicited employment in the new expedition, and even Ferdinand, cautious as he was, now caught the general enthusiasm. A fleet of seventeen sail was speedily fitted out. On board of it were fifteen hundred persons, many of whom were of noble families. They were furnished with domestic animals, and with such seeds and plants as were likely to thrive in the climate of the Western Indies, as the new country was called. Utensils and instruments of every sort were taken on board, and there were all such artificers as might be useful to a rising colony. In order to secure themselves from the intrusion of strangers in these new dominions, Ferdinand and Isabella

now applied to pope Alexander VI. for a grant of whatever they might explore to the westward as far as one hundred leagues beyond the Azores, while all discoveries to the eastward were confirmed to the Portuguese.

Columbus after touching at the Caribbee Islands, and Jamaica, proceeded to Hispaniola, where he arrived on the 22d November, 1493, and found that the insolence and rapacity of the men he had left behind him at Navidad had provoked the natives to burn the fort and murder the people. To make up for the loss of this settlement, he chose a healthier and better spot near a spacious bay, and there traced out the plan of a town, at whose walls he obliged every man to work for the common safety; and the walls and houses of the first town built by Europeans in the new world were soon sufficiently advanced to afford shelter and security. This town he named Isabella, in honour of the queen.

But a new scene of difficulty now opened to the admiral. Among the number of the colonists, some envied him his power, and some the share of the profits he was entitled to claim; while others, eager to grasp at once at the possession of the country, blamed him as lukewarm to the interests of the king and queen, because he would not revenge the destruction of Navidad by a decided attack on the Indians. The dissensions occasioned by these various feelings obliged him to send several of the

malcontents home to Spain, where they found it easy to prejudice many persons against him, and he soon found that nothing but his returning with a quantity of gold could outweigh the misrepresentations of his enemies at court. This consideration accounts for, though it cannot excuse, the harsh measure he adopted of exacting as much gold dust as would fill a hawk's bell, four times in each year, from every individual Indian above the age of fourteen, in the gold districts, and twenty-five pounds of cotton for such as lived in other parts of the country. The harshness with which this tax was collected was such, that many of the natives escaped from it by a voluntary death, and many others died from want, because in their despair they pulled up their roots of mandioc, and left their maize grounds untilled, that, if possible, they might force the Spaniards to leave their land. But the strangers were relieved by supplies from Spain, while the Indians soon felt the utmost distress of famine, and in a few months more than a third part of the inhabitants of the island had perished. Columbus returned from this his second voyage in 1496. His appearance at court, the gold, the pearls, the cotton, and the captive Indians, he presented to the sovereigns, made them ashamed of having listened to his enemies, and they resolved to send out every thing that might render Hispaniola a permanent establishment, and to furnish Columbus with such a fleet

as might enable him to go in search of those new and rich countries, which he was persuaded from the accounts of the Indians lay at no great distance.

But the first joyful impressions made by his return were soon effaced: the more important his discoveries proved to be, the more the mean jealousies of the courtiers, and of Ferdinand himself, were excited, and it was not until two years afterwards that he was enabled to set out on his third voyage, with six ships, on board of which were supplies for the colony, and a number of new colonists, most of whom were criminals from the different prisons in Spain. The first land Columbus made on this voyage was the island of Trinidad, at the mouth of the Orinoko, and thence he steered along the coasts of Para and Cumana; but the bad condition of his ships prevented him from prosecuting the discovery of the continent, and obliged him to sail for Hayti, or Hispaniola. On arriving, he found that his brother had removed the capital from Isabella and fixed it at San Domingo, the name of which was afterwards extended to the whole island. Columbus immediately set about the improvement of the colony, correcting abuses, restraining crimes, and endeavouring to promote the interest of his sovereigns, and the extension of religion among the natives, whom he endeavoured on all occasions to protect.

In the meantime, Yanez Pinzon, who had served under Columbus in his first voyage, had touched on the Brazilian shore, and was followed by Cabral, who made a more complete survey of that fertile and beautiful country. And in the same year, Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, had accompanied Alonzo de Ojeda on a private expedition to the new world, and having had the address to make it appear that he first saw the great continent, it received his name, America; which it still bears.

But while the magnitude and importance of Columbus's discoveries became daily more and more evident, his enemies at court were harassing the king and queen with complaints against his tyranny, and his folly, which they said had cost the nation such sums in fitting out the various expeditions as the wretched new countries could never repay; they accused him moreover of pride and arrogance, and of assuming an authority above that of the king himself. These calumnies against an absent man were but too easily believed, and Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was sent out to examine into the conduct of Columbus, and if he found him guilty to send him to Spain, and to assume his offices in the colony. It is needless to say that this interested judge condemned the admiral; and the man whose genius had given a new world to the crown of

Spain was sent to his sovereign a prisoner and in chains.

He arrived in Spain in December, 1500, and it was no sooner known to Isabella that he was in chains than she sent orders to release him, and money for his journey to court, where she received him with tender respect, and Ferdinand with decent civility. Bovadilla was degraded, but Columbus was not restored.

But his spirit was not yet daunted. He sailed on a fourth voyage two years afterwards, during which he suffered from storms, shipwreck, desertion, mutiny, and above all from the malice of his jealous enemies. He shortly returned to Spain, where he died in 1504, of a broken heart, and caused the chains with which he had been bound to be buried in the coffin with him.

We must now return to the general affairs of Spain after the taking of Grenada, which by removing the internal foe that had so long been a source of distress in the kingdom, left Ferdinand and Isabella at leisure to perfect their schemes of domestic government and foreign policy. They were still at Grenada when they received overtures for a treaty from Charles VIII. of France, who was madly resolved on making the conquest of Italy, and who feared lest his designs on Naples, in particular, should be thwarted by the king of Aragon, the ally and near relation of Ferdinand of Naples. He therefore proposed to restore Rous-

sillon, which had been pawned by John II. of Aragon to Lewis XI., on condition that Ferdinand should not oppose his claims to that crown, as the heir of the Angevin family. The king and queen of Spain immediately left Grenada, and went to Barcelona for the convenience of communicating more speedily, and there a treaty was concluded so advantageous to Spain, that Louis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi, who acted on the part of France, was suspected of having been bribed by Ferdinand. Charles VIII. was in consequence enabled to make those memorable inroads into Italy, which at one time were so successful as to threaten its princes with the annexation of their whole country to the crown of France.

Besides this treaty with France, a friendly connexion was made with England by the marriage of Catherine, the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Arthur prince of Wales, the eldest son of king Henry VII. Johanna, the second daughter, was given about the same time to Philip the Handsome, son of Maximilian, archduke of Austria and afterwards emperor of Germany; and Margaret, the daughter of the same prince, was sent to Spain to marry John, the only son of the king and queen. Donna Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was bestowed on Manuel the Fortunate, king of Portugal, on condition of revoking some edicts he had passed favourable to the Jews. But in the midst of the festivities on

occasion of this latter marriage, Isabella received a blow from which she never entirely recovered. Her only son, don John, fell sick and died in September, 1498, of a fever at Salamanca, leaving no heir. Ferdinand, who, with the rest of his family, was at Valencia de Alcantara, at the marriage-feast, was apprized in time to reach Salamanca before the prince's death.

Meanwhile Charles VIII. had been victorious in all parts of Italy. The assistance afforded him by Ferdinand amounted to little more than the loan of fifteen hundred men, but they were under the command of the celebrated Fernan Gonzalez de Cordova, commonly called the Great Captain. Charles, however, died in the midst of his victorious career in 1498, and was succeeded by Louis XII., who followed up the ambitious projects of his predecessor. The throne of Naples was now occupied by Ferdinand III., a young prince, the favourite of the people. His father Alonzo, after reigning a little more than a year, had retired from the throne he was unable to defend, to a monastery, and left his son heir to the wars with the French. The duke of Nemours, who commanded the troops of Louis XII., with the assistance of the Great Captain, defeated Ferdinand soon after his accession, and he accepted a pension from the king of France, to whose dominions he retired, and the two armies took possession of Naples.

But when the king of France claimed that di-

vision of the kingdom, which had been stipulated for by treaty, Gonzalez peremptorily refused to yield it. A war between the kings of France and Spain was now carried on within the territory of Naples, with various success, for six campaigns, during which the French commanders, La Palisse and D'Aubigné, were taken prisoners, and the duc de Nemours wounded to death. Most of the towns of Apulia and Calabria having surrendered to the Spaniards, the Neapolitans invited them to their city, in order to relieve the famine which had begun to rage there. The French garrison shut themselves up in the Castel del Uovo and in Castel Novo; but they were reduced by the explosion of a mine formed by don Pedro de Navarro, and then first used in war. Shortly afterwards, the French general, the marquis de Saluces, was defeated near the Garillano; and the taking of Gaeta on the 1st of January, 1504, by the Great Captain, drove the French entirely out of Naples, which then reverted to the crown of Arragon.

While the arms of Ferdinand were thus successful in Naples, he had had to lament a fresh domestic calamity. His eldest daughter Isabella, the wife of don Manuel, king of Portugal, had died without children, and the crowns of Castile and Arragon were now to descend to Joanna, wife of Philip of Flanders, a princess whose intellects were too weak to afford any hope of a tranquil reign. Her husband, the archduke of Austria, was

a stranger to the Spaniards, and it was thought expedient to invite him to Spain, that, by residing among them, he might accustom himself to their laws and manners: and it was expected that the cortes would acknowledge his right of succession, together with that of the infanta. On their way through France, Philip and Joanna were entertained with the utmost magnificence; the archduke did homage to Lewis XII. for the earldom of Flanders, and took his seat as a peer of France in the parliament of Paris.

The princess and her husband were received by Ferdinand and Isabella with every mark of affection, and by the people with respectful joy. But the stately ceremonial of the court of Isabella was irksome to Philip, a gay and volatile young man, and he soon became anxious to return to his native country. Ferdinand, on the other hand, observing the declining health of his wife, at whose death his right to the crown of Castile must cease, foresaw that Philip, who scarcely took the pains to conceal his extreme impatience to reign, would not consent to his retaining any degree of authority in that kingdom, and therefore regarded him with extreme jealousy.

Isabella saw, with deep grief, the indifference with which the archduke treated her daughter, whose person was as homely as her mind was weak. The princess's understanding was often disordered; she doted on Philip with such childish fondness as

excited disgust, and her jealousy, which was not unprovoked, often broke out in violent actions. Joanna's condition was soon rendered deplorable by her husband's resolution of setting out in the middle of winter for Flanders, whither she could not accompany him, being near her confinement. From the moment of his departure she sunk into a deep melancholy, and was, perhaps, the only person in Spain who felt no pleasure on the birth of her second son, Ferdinand; nor did she recover her tranquillity of mind until she joined Philip at Brussels the next year.

From this time Philip took no part in the affairs of Spain until after the death of Isabella, whose grief for the loss of her son and her eldest daughter, and for the weakness of mind of Joanna, had preyed on her spirits, and, after languishing some months, she died at Medina del Campo on the 26th of November, 1504. She was no less eminent for virtue than for wisdom. She was tainted with the bigotry of the times; hence she permitted the persecution of the Moors and Jews: but, on the whole, she was an indulgent and humane mistress, a compassionate and merciful sovereign. The Spanish historians bestow on her every species of praise, and she was lamented long by her subjects. Her last will, which was written a few weeks before her death, appointed her husband Ferdinand administrator of the affairs of Castile, until her grandson Charles, the eldest son of Joanna, should attain

the age of twenty. She bequeathed to Ferdinand one half of the revenues to be derived from the Indies, and the three grandmasterships of the military orders.

Immediately on Isabella's death, Ferdinand resigned the title of king of Castile, and issued orders to proclaim Joanna and Philip; at the same time assuming the character of regent, which the cortes not long afterwards confirmed to him. But the Castilians could not easily submit to the dominion of a king of Arragon. He was peculiarly odious to the grandees, because, sensible of the dangerous privileges conferred on them by their feudal institutions, he had endeavoured to curb their powers by extending the royal jurisdiction, increasing the immunities of cities, and, in cases of disputes between the lords and vassals, befriending the latter.

On the news of Isabella's death and Ferdinand's assumption of power reaching the Netherlands, there was great agitation. Philip felt himself aggrieved at any other man than himself being appointed guardian of his wife, or tutor of his son, and his resentment was fostered by don John Manuel, who hoped, under a young and liberal prince, to attain to power and riches, which he never could have possessed under his old frugal master. A war of intrigue now began between Ferdinand and his son-in-law, when few of the Castilians but cardinal Ximenes, the duke of Alva, and the marquis of Denia, adhered to the old king.

Ferdinand, exasperated at the treatment he received from Philip and the grandees, resolved to marry again, when he hoped, if he had a son, to deprive Philip of the kingdoms of Arragon, Naples, and Navarre, and leave him with nothing but the limited government of Castile. His first addresses were paid to Joanna, the supposed daughter of Henry IV.; but she, after a stormy youth, had long enjoyed the tranquillity of a convent, and refused to leave it. His next, with more success, were made to Germaine de Foix, daughter of the viscount de Narbonne, and to Mary, sister to Louis XII. By her he had one son, but his premature death averted the danger of the division of the Spanish crowns.

Louis XII.'s granting his niece in marriage to Ferdinand justly alarmed Philip, who had thus lost his only ally, and foreseeing the probable loss of so many kingdoms, his adviser, don John Manuel, persuaded him to endeavour to negotiate with his father-in-law. Ferdinand eagerly listened to his proposals, and a treaty was concluded at Salamanca, by which the government was to be carried on in the joint names of Joanna, Ferdinand, and Philip. But the latter only wished to gain time until he should be able to repair to Castile himself, and he accordingly set out with Joanna by sea; but being obliged by a violent tempest to take shelter in England, they were detained upwards of three months by king Henry VII., but at length arrived in Spain, to the great joy of most of the grandees of

Castile, and Ferdinand was reluctantly obliged to resign the regency. Philip was overjoyed at the possession of uncontrolled power. The unhappy Joanna was, during all these contests, in a state of melancholy: she was not allowed to appear in public, and Philip's chief object seemed to be to prevail on the Cortes to declare her incapable of government, and to lodge the whole power in his hands until her son should be of age to govern. But the Castilians resolved to protect their native princess from such injustice, and accordingly acknowledged her queen of Castile, in conjunction with her husband as Philip I., and their son, prince Charles, as prince of the Asturias.

But Philip did not long enjoy the power he had struggled so hard to win. He died three months after his arrival, at the age of twenty-eight.

The whole royal authority ought now to have devolved on Joanna, but the shock occasioned by the death of her husband completed the disorder of her understanding. She attended him during his illness, and when he died she did not shed a tear; but having been prevailed on to allow him to be interred, she caused the body to be taken out of the tomb, and laid on a bed in her own apartment, where she continued to pay it the most assiduous attention. She had heard from a monk a tale of a king who revived after fourteen years supposed death, and she kept her eyes constantly fixed on her husband's body, expecting it to return to life.

Her sole employment was to watch and pray for him, and when importuned to name any guardians to the state, she constantly declined doing it, or to sign such papers as were necessary for the business of the kingdom, though she intimated that her father was her natural guardian, and that she should be glad to see him. She travelled about from place to place with the corpse of Philip, in the night, saying the sun ought never to look on a widow who had lost such a husband.

A dispute now arose among the grandees as to the choice of a regent, some declaring for Ferdinand, and others for Maximilian, the paternal grandfather of the young prince. Ferdinand himself, at this juncture, had gone to Naples, that he might put an end, with some decency, to the viceroyalty of the Great Captain, whose success and talents had excited his jealousy. Nothing but the great abilities and prudent conduct of his adherents prevented the ill effects of his absence; but cardinal Ximenes, by his great address, reconciled the Castilians to Ferdinand, and secured to them by the appointment of that prudent monarch as regent, for the remainder of his life as much domestic tranquillity as was consistent with the genius of their feudal government. Cardinal Ximenes became the minister of Ferdinand, and not long afterwards undertook a singular expedition for a man of his age and of his profession. He had long laboured to convert the Mahometans who had remained in Grenada to Christianity, decidedly averse to delivering

them over to the Inquisition, because, among other reasons, Ferdinand had solemnly promised to use no force but that of persuasion, to induce them to change their religion. Ximenes began the work of conversion by caressing the chief persons among them, and persuaded them to embrace the Christian faith: their example was followed by many others, which so alarmed some of the elder sheiks and moollahs, that they began to preach on the subject, and warned their hearers neither to be flattered nor bribed out of the religion of their fathers. The cardinal, enraged at the check he received in the work of conversion by these means, commanded the preachers to be apprehended, and especially one of the noble race of Zegri. These men he placed in the custody of Leoni, a chaplain of his own, of a fierce and cruel disposition. Zegri had not been many days in his keeping before he entreated to be admitted to see the archbishop, and being there he begged to have his chains knocked off, that he might speak with more freedom; this being done, he declared that he had been commanded the night before, in a dream, to turn Christian, adding, with a bitter smile, "I am not such a blockhead as to want any more arguments to persuade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible lion of your lordship," alluding to the keeper's name. The cardinal rejoiced at Zegri's conversion; he clothed him in scarlet, baptised him with his own hand, and gave him the

name of the great captain Ferdinand González, and settled a pension of 5000 crowns upon him.

Ximenes' next step was to collect all the books of the Moors, when selecting such as treated of medicine and philosophy as valuable, and causing the rest to be burnt in the market-place, he commanded all the children of the Moors to be baptised, and to use Christian books. These things, however, so exasperated the great body of the Arabs, that they took up arms, and first barricaded the streets of the city, and then marched in a body to the archiepiscopal palace, insisting on the performance of the conditions respecting toleration, on which the city had been given up to Ferdinand. This happened before the death of Isabella, and the news arriving at Seville of the insurrection, though not of its having been quelled by Ximenes' prudence, Ferdinand, who had opposed the elevation of the cardinal, bade Isabella, harshly, "See what her hot-headed Ximenes had done, having lost a place in a few weeks which had cost Spain so many years of bloodshed." But his anger was allayed when the news of the restoration of tranquillity arrived, and he sent orders to put such as were concerned in the tumult to death, unless they submitted to baptism. In consequence of this 50,000 purchased their lives by a change of belief; but it may be doubted whether there were among them one true convert.

The bishop of Grenada, to whom Ximenes after-

wards delegated the charge of conversion, caused the Psalms, the Gospels, and Epistles to be translated into Arabic for the use of the new Christians; but he was blamed by Ximenes, who looked upon the putting the Bible into the hands of the vulgar as dangerous.

An insurrection in the Alpuxarras followed, which was with difficulty quelled by the king and Gonzalez, the great captain; but the Moors, weary of their persecutions, asked permission to withdraw into Africa. It was granted on their paying ten dollars a head, and many thousands accordingly left Spain. Of such as remained two hundred thousand were nominally converted. But now the Inquisition laid hold of them, and looking on these new Christians in the same light as that in which they had placed the converts from the Jewish faith, they treated them in the same harsh and cruel manner, and in the space of forty years no less than one hundred thousand were condemned for apostasy by the Inquisition of Seville, and of those four thousand were burnt, thirty thousand reconciled, and the rest escaped to Barbary. By means of this great desolation four thousand houses were left desolate within the district of the Inquisition of Seville. The owners complained to the king of the injury they suffered, and the counsellors of state were of opinion that the inquisitors would soon reduce Spain to a desert, if a stop were not put to their proceedings, and a large sum of money was offered for the purpose of making up to the holy office for

the loss of fines which might be incurred by lessening the number of condemnations. But Torquemada, who was then alive, posted to court, and rushing into the presence of the king and queen, pulled a crucifix from his breast, and stretching it towards them, said, he was no stranger to the bargain which was on foot; that Judas had sold the Saviour for thirty pieces of silver, and that they were doing the like; but he would not be a party to that crime, and there gave up his authority, calling them to answer to God for the consequence. The king and queen were so awed by this boldness that they proceeded no farther, and the inquisitors remained unbridled in their power of doing evil.

But after this the Moors remained unmolested in Grenada until the next reign. Cardinal Ximenes, however, resolved to attack them in Africa, and accordingly, in 1509, sailed for that coast at the head of an army embarked in eighty vessels, and commanded by Petro Novarro, who had learned the art of war under the great captain, who now lived in retirement at Grenada; he soon reduced Oran and the neighbouring country to submission, and thus added another province to Ferdinand's crown. The cardinal defrayed the whole of the expense, and on his return to Spain built a college at Alcala, in gratitude to Heaven for his success. The next year Novarro followed up the cardinal's success in Africa by reducing some other towns, and forcing several Moorish kings to pay tribute.

Nearly about the same period, Ferdinand, who was one of the parties in the league of Cambray, and whose troops were actually engaged against the Venetians, began to listen to proposals from the republic, which offered to evacuate the places it had seized in the kingdom of Naples, and in 1511 he formed a league with the pope and Venice against France and her confederates, having persuaded his son-in-law, Henry of England, to make a descent on the coast of France by way of diversion. At the same time he demanded a passage through Navarre for his troops destined to attack Louis; but this being refused by the king, John d'Albret, he set up a claim to that kingdom in behalf of his second wife, Germaine de Foix, sister, and, as he said, heiress, to Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours. He followed up this claim by so sudden and powerful an attack, that in a short time Pamplona and all the strong places were taken in 1513. Navarre was annexed to the crown of Spain, with the exception of a small district in the mountainous part bordering on France. Jean d'Albret, the king, with his wife, died of broken hearts shortly afterwards, leaving their claims to the crown, and but little else, to their son, Henry II.

In the year 1515 died Ferdinand Gonzalez de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, to whose conduct Ferdinand owed the kingdom of Naples, but to whom his behaviour was in the last degree odious and ungrateful. Yet never for a moment did Gonzalez give him cause for suspicion or jea-

lousy. Not content with depriving him of the viceroyalty of Naples, which he had so well earned, he refused him permission to return to Italy, when his allies, after a great defeat, entreated the presence of the Great Captain, as the only man that could retrieve their fortune, being, in truth, jealous on account of the multitudes that flocked to join the banners of Gonzalez as soon as it was known that he was invited to take the field. He was respected by his enemies, and adored by the soldiers as much for his generosity as his valour. The republic of Venice sent him some precious golden vases, magnificent tapestry and furs, with a letter written in letters of gold from the senate, creating him a noble of Venice. All these things, except the letter, he sent to the king, and retained that only, as he said, to show his neighbour, Alonzo de Silva, that he was as good a gentleman as he. This Great Captain lived in retirement at Grenada, in the conquest of which he had a considerable share, until the age of seventy-two, when an ague carried him off, to the regret of all his contemporaries.

Ferdinand did not long survive him. He died of dropsy at Madrigalexo, a village near Truxillo, on the 23d of January, 1516. He was buried by the side of queen Isabella at Grenada, in the Alhambra. Ferdinand was perhaps the most politic, and certainly the most ambitious prince of his time; but his policy often degenerated into cunning and falsehood, and his ambition led him to commit acts of great injustice. Jealous and sus-

picious, he often deprived himself of the services of his best ministers, from fears of their popularity or their ambition, and treated with ingratitude those to whom he owed most.

He had fostered a most unnatural jealousy of the archduke Charles, his grandson and successor, and at one time appears to have had thoughts of declaring Joanna's younger son, Ferdinand, heir to the crown of Spain; and had even made a will, appointing him regent and grand master of the three military orders; but becoming sensible that such an appointment could only lead to civil war, he changed his testament, and left that prince only some estates in the kingdom of Naples, and a pension of 50,000 ducats yearly, while he named Cardinal Ximenes sole regent until the arrival of Charles in Spain.



Spanish bull-fight on horseback.

During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the political events were so important as to claim almost undivided attention. The change in the domestic policy, by lessening the power and wealth of the grandees, checked that degree of peculiar patronage which had encouraged the poets and troubadours of the century preceding, while at the same time the more general diffusion of knowledge consequent on the invention of printing, and some other causes, rendered such patronage less necessary. The name of Juan de la Enzina is the greatest among those of the literary men that adorned the court of Isabella. His works were various and all excellent; the earliest was a description in verse of his voyage to Jerusalem with the marquis of Tarifa, and his next a translation of the Eclogues of Virgil, applying the circumstances to the events in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, in whose praise he wrote a poem, called *Triumfo de la Fama*, which was soon followed by a prose work dedicated to the Infant don John; all of which works were completed before he reached his twenty-fifth year. But Juan de la Enzina is more remarkable as the first dramatic author in Spain. In his *Cancioneiro* * there are many dramatic pieces, acted during Christmas, Shrovetide, and Easter, in the house of the duke of Alva. These entertainments consisted of pastoral dialogues, subjects of love, and also those commonly called mysteries and moralities.

* One edition was printed in 1501, at Zaragoza, in Gothic letters, by two Germans.

Their actors, however, were mostly dissolute men, and the first compositions for the stage were suitable to their turn, and restricted to scenes of low life, similar to those manners which constituted their chief characters. Such is the celebrated tragedy in twenty-one acts, called Calixto and Melibea, translated long since into English, and quite unworthy of the stage on account of its profligacy. It is not quite certain whether the first part ought to be attributed to Juan de la Enzina, Juan de Mena, or Roderigo de Cota; but it was finished by Fernando de Roccas. Juan de la Enzina left Castile for Rome, however, whither he was invited by Pope Leo X. on account of his skill in music, and he was for many years chapel-master to that pontiff. The principal prose works at this period, besides the Chronicles, which are many and good, are some excellent Epistles by different men of rank, and the History of the great Men of Castile (Los Claros Varones) by Fernando del Pulgar, who was historiographer to Ferdinand and Isabella.

It is needless to say, that the sciences of astronomy, geography, and all those that belong to navigation, were now rapidly improving. The voyages of Columbus and of the Portuguese sufficiently prove it. The discovery of the variation of the compass was of itself a great step towards that practical knowledge of the mysterious qualities of the loadstone, which enables us to bring together the distant parts of the globe, and the various races of mankind, by means of the very

element which at first sight seems to have been placed as an eternal barrier between them.

In war the arts of destruction became better understood and more skilfully practised, which, as it has the effect of shortening conflicts, on the whole confers a benefit on mankind.

The discovery of America had added a world to the dominion of the Spaniards, and given them riches which the fondest speculators never dreamed of; but the abuse of their power led to a premature decay, as we shall have occasion to see; and the final establishment of an Inquisition, from which there was no appeal, began the work of destruction in the state at the very moment when it appeared most flourishing.



Pardoned,

*condemned,
by the Inquisition.*

accused,

ARAB SOVEREIGNS OF SPAIN.

FIRST PERIOD.

CALIPHS OF THE HOUSE OF OMEYAH.

	Years of our Lord.	Years of the Hegira.
Abdulrahman I.	750	132
Hachem I.	788	172
Alhakem I.	796	180
Abdulrahman II.	822	206
Muhammad I.	852	238
Almondhir	886	273
Abdalla	889	276
Abdulrahman III.	912	300
Alhakem II.	961	350
Hachem II.	976	366
Muhammad II., El Mohdi Bila	1006	397
Suleiman Almostain Bila	1006	397
Hachem II. restored	1012	402
Ali ben Hamud	1015	406
Abdulrahman IV.	1017	408
Alcasim ben Hamud	1021	412
Yahye ben Ali	1022	413
Abdulrahman V., Almortadei Bila	1022	413
Muhammad III. ben Abdulrahman	1023	414
Yahye ben Aly (a second time)	1024	415
Hachem III. el Motad Bila	1026	417
Gehwar ben Muhammad ben Gehwar	1031	422

In whose reign, and that of Muhammad IV. ben Gehwar Abulwaled, the caliph of Cordova was split into separate kingdoms, and Cordova itself fell into the hands of the kings of Seville, and afterwards into those of the Almoravide caliphs of Marocca.

The kingdoms of Malaga, Seville, Toledo, Zaragoza, Badajos, Azahila, Almeria and Denia, Carmoria and Ezija, Huelva and Libla, Lorca, Murcia, Valencia, Segura, had each their separate kings, who either destroyed one another, or fell into the hands of the

kings of Castile, Arragon, or Portugal; the kingdom of Grenada only stood on the fall of the others until the final reduction of the Moors in 1492. The succession of the African caliphs is as follows :

SECOND PERIOD.

	Years of our Lord.	Years of the Hegira.
Yusuf gains Andalusia, about	1067	460
Ali Ben Yusuf	1106	500
Taxfin ben Ali	1139	534
The Almoravides were now dispossessed by the Almohades under		
Ahmed ben Abdalla Almohadi	1146	541
Abdalmumen ben Ali	1147	542
Yusef Abu Jacob	1161	558
Yacub Abu Jusef	1184	580
Mahommed ben Jacob	1198	595
Jusef ben Muhammad	1213	610
Abdul Waid	1223	620

THIRD PERIOD.

KINGS OF GRENADA.

Abus ben Maksan, died in	1029	420
Habus	1037	429
Bedir ben Habus	1072	465
Abdalla ben Balkin	1092	483

This kingdom became, like the rest of Moorish Spain, subject, at this time, to the Almoravides, but it was restored to independence by

Muhammad I. Aben Alahmar, about the year	1238	636
Muhammad II.	1273	672
Abu Abdalla Mohammad III.	1302	702
Nazar	1308	708
Abul Walid and Abul Said Ismael	1313	713
Muley Muhammad IV.	1325	726

	Years of our Lord.	Years of the Hegira.
Jusef Abul Hagiag	1333	734
Muhammad V.	1354	755
Ismael	1359	761
Abu Said	1360	762
Muhammad V. restored	1361	763
Abu Abdalla Yusef	1391	794
Muhammad VI.	1395	798
Yusef	1399	802
Muley Muhammad VII. deposed	1420	823
Muhammad Zaqui IX, assassinated.		
Muhammad Al Hayzari, deposed three times.		
Muhammad Aben Ozmin fled	1433	837
Aben Ismael	1454	858
Abul Hassan	1466	871
Abdalla el Zagal and Abdalla el Zaquir— lost the kingdom	1492	898

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I. OF SPAIN
AND V. EMPEROR OF GERMANY OF THAT NAME,
TO HIS ABDICATION IN 1556.



Infanta Joanna, the mother of Charles V.

CHARLES I. of Spain was sixteen years old at the death of his grandfather Ferdinand. His infancy had been passed with two women of great talents, Margaret of Austria, his aunt, and Margaret of York, sister to Edward IV. of England, and widow of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. On the death of the archduke Philip, the Flemings had made the emperor Maximilian regent of the Low Countries,

and he chose William de Croi, lord of Chievres, to superintend the education of Charles. He possessed in an eminent degree the qualities that fitted him for that office, and discharged his duties with great fidelity. Under Chievres, Adrian of Utrecht was preceptor to the prince, an office which he owed to the high opinion entertained of his learning. But his knowledge was not of a kind to be either useful or agreeable to his pupil, and he accordingly preferred those martial exercises which formed the pride and ornament of the youth of that period. Chievres encouraged this taste, and instructed him besides in the arts of government and in the history of all countries, particularly his own; he persuaded him to read all public papers, to be present at the deliberations of his council, and to propose to them himself those matters concerning which he required their opinion. These habits gave him a grave and sedate manner; his figure was graceful and his address manly; so that his subjects had conceived great hopes of his future conduct. Ferdinand had appointed cardinal Ximenes to be sole regent of Castile until the arrival of Charles, while the archbishop of Saragoza was president of the affairs of Arragon. The cardinal was now fourscore years of age, and was well aware of the labour and difficulty of the office; but his zeal for the public good prompted him instantly to receive it. Adrian of Utrecht, who had been sent into Spain a few months before the death of Fer-

Ferdinand, produced full powers from Charles to assume the authority of regent, on the death of his grandfather; but such was the hatred of the Spaniards for the government of a stranger, that Adrian's claim would have been rejected by the cortes, if Ximenes himself had not consented to share his place with him.

No sooner did the news of Ferdinand's death reach Brussels, than Charles by the advice of his Flemish ministers resolved to assume the title of king. By the laws of Spain, the sole right to the crowns both of Castile and Arragon belonged to Juanna, Charles's mother, whose incapacity had never been declared by any public act of the cortes of either kingdom; so that the Spaniards considered this act not only as a direct violation of their laws, but as an unnatural usurpation by the son of his mother's prerogatives, to whom in her unhappy state he did not show the feeling which her subjects had always done. The pope and the emperor, however, having been prevailed on to address letters to Charles as king of Spain, instructions were sent to Ximenes to engage the Spaniards to acknowledge his title. Although he had earnestly remonstrated against the measure, the cardinal, on receiving these instructions, determined to obey; and immediately assembled such of the nobles as were at court, and laid the request of Charles before them. They naturally began to murmur; but Ximenes interposed, told them that

he had not called on them to deliberate, but to obey, and added that he should that day cause Charles to be proclaimed in Madrid, and he doubted not but that the rest of the cities would follow the example. In Arragon, however, he was acknowledged only as prince until he arrived in Spain.

The cardinal had, with the office of regent, adopted all the feelings of sovereignty, and resolved to extend the prerogative of the kings of Spain. His first measure was the repressing the nobility, who imagining that under a young prince at a distance the reins of government might be slackened, had begun to assemble their vassals, and to renew those private wars which the policy and energy of Ferdinand had forced them to end or dissemble. But the cardinal, who had a good body of troops in his own pay, soon awed them into submission. He next resolved to free the king from his dependance on the grandees, for soldiers in time of war. But as a mercenary standing army would have been odious to the people, he issued a proclamation commanding every city to enrol a certain number of burgesses, to be trained to the use of arms on Sundays and holidays, engaging to provide officers for them at the public expense. The frequent incursions of the Moors from Africa, which rendered it necessary to provide a defence against them, furnished him with a pretext for this innovation. His next step was to

circumscribe the domains of the grandees by revoking the grants, made by former kings, but in this he was obliged to proceed cautiously, and his reforms could on this head advance little beyond withholding the pensions granted by Ferdinand, on pretence that they expired with his life.

The grandees were so alarmed at these measures, that they deputed three of their number, the admiral of Castile, the duke del Infantado, and the conde de Benevento to remonstrate with him. He received them with civility, and after producing to them in vain the king's full powers, he drew them to a window and showed them a body of troops under arms, and a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," said he, "the powers which I have received from his catholic majesty; with these I govern Castile, and with these I will govern it until the king, my master and yours, takes possession of his kingdom." This bold declaration silenced them, and the tranquillity of the state was not disturbed.

But Ximenes had to maintain a constant struggle with the Flemish ministers. They discovered that Adrian of Utrecht had neither talent nor spirit to cope with the cardinal, and therefore appointed two more regents, Amerstorf, a Dutch nobleman, and La Chau, a Fleming; but the cardinal treated them with the same civility as he paid to Adrian, and continued to exercise the whole powers of government. In this he was supported by the Spa-

niards, who although they feared him, hated the foreign ministers beyond measure.

While the regent was thus maintaining and increasing the regal prerogative at home, he had two foreign wars to maintain. Jean d'Albret, the late king of Navarre, hoped after Ferdinand's death to regain his kingdom, and had accordingly invaded it; but while he was besieging St. Jean Pied-deport with one part of his army, Villalooa, an officer of great experience, sent by Ximenes to attack him, defeated the rest, and the unfortunate monarch retired, when an end was put to the war. To secure this conquest, Ximenes caused the numerous castles and strong holds, with which the country was thickly set, to be destroyed, reserving only Pamplona, which he resolved to fortify very strongly; so that although the country has been repeatedly overrun by the French, they have never been able to maintain it for want of strong places to defend them.

The other war was against the famous adventurer Horuc Barbarossa, who from a private corsair had raised himself to be king of Algiers and Tunis, and it was far from being successful. The rash conduct of the Spanish general, who despised his enemy, presented Barbarossa with an easy victory, many of his troops perished, and the remainder fled in disgrace to Spain.

But this disaster was little thought of in comparison with the misconduct of the Flemish mi-

nisters. The great qualities of Charles's prime minister, Chievres, were obscured by an insatiable avarice which induced him to sell every office to the highest bidder. Inferior agents engaged in the same traffic, and the Spanish nobles in soliciting those offices which their families were accustomed to fill, as part of their privileges, found themselves constrained to purchase them at an enormous price; and as they were obliged to go into the Low Countries to transact the scandalous business, the long detention of Charles at Ghent was looked upon as an artifice to draw money from Spain to that country.

But though the Flemish ministers endeavoured to prevent Charles from visiting Spain, his grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, fully aware of the importance of his doing so, joined Ximenes in urging him to gratify his Spanish subjects by going among them. At length he was prevailed upon to embark with his sister Leonor, at Middleburg, in August, 1517; and after a stormy voyage he landed at Villa Viciosa in the Asturias, about a month afterwards. As soon as his arrival was known; cardinal Ximenes set out to meet him; notwithstanding his great age and infirmities. During his regency he had never abated the religious exercises and mortifications he had practised as a monk; and to these he added such laborious assiduity in business, as might have worn out the most youthful and vigorous health. On his journey

a violent disorder seized him at Bos Equillos, attended with such uncommon symptoms as gave rise to a report that he was poisoned by the Flemings. He was removed to Aranda, whence he wrote to Charles, entreating him to dismiss the crowds of foreigners who had attended him, and earnestly desired an interview with the king, that he might inform him of the state of the country, and the temper of his subjects. But through the suggestions of the courtiers every measure he suggested was neglected, and he was made to feel even in trifles that he was no longer invested with any authority in Spain. A cold letter from the king, to whom he delivered his kingdom in a more flourishing state than it had ever been in any former age, allowing him to retire to his diocese, in order that after a life of such continued labour he might end his days in tranquillity, was the last insult they had it in their power to inflict; for that upright man and excellent minister died a few hours after reading it, on the 8th of November. The last act of his regency had been to forbid the sale of those indulgences in Spain, which in Germany gave occasion to Luther's first separation from the church of Rome.

Ximenes is counted with reason among the greatest men of Spain. Truly pious, he was tolerant in an age of intolerance; he protected even the Moors from the inquisition, and struggled against Torquemada in his persecution of the

Jews. He defended the followers of the ancient Musarabic liturgy, and to shield them from the attacks of the holy office, more than from any regard to the ritual itself, he repaired the ancient chapel where it had continued to be used, and endowed it sufficiently to maintain chaplains for the decent performance of worship. As a minister he was prudent, active, of undoubted integrity, and had in all things a view to the public good. He founded an university at Alcala, and schools in other places. The celebrated complutensian polyglot bible was printed at his expense, and he also caused the Musarabic liturgy to be printed. He was buried at Alcala.

Charles and Leonor proceeded to Tordesillas to visit their mother, before they made any stay elsewhere, Juanna had lived for above ten years in a dark room with her husband's corpse constantly before her, and having with her her daughter Catherine, with whom she could not bear to part: she is said to have shown great sensibility on seeing her children, but refused to change her way of life.

While Charles remained at Tordesillas, the archbishop of Saragoza, regent of Arragon, and the natural son of his grandfather Ferdinand, arrived to pay his respects to his new sovereign; but the prince fearing lest he should ask him for the archbishopric of Toledo, which it had been the intention of the late king to bestow on him, commanded him to go to Valladolid without seeing him, and there await

his arrival. Meanwhile the archiepiscopal see was bestowed on William de Croi, a very young man, the nephew of Chievres and bishop of Cambray. This exasperated the Spaniards more than all the exactions of the Flemings, and yet they in a few months had sent out of the country a million and one hundred thousand ducats. They considered the placing a stranger at the head of their church as an insult and an injury to the whole nation.

The other measures of a domestic nature were also highly resented by the Spaniards. Ferdinand, the king's younger brother, who had been brought up amongst them and was much beloved, was sent out of the kingdom to Flanders in an arbitrary manner; his Spanish governors and servants were removed, and Frenchmen and Flemings placed about him. Shortly afterwards, the princess Leonor was disposed of in marriage to the aged Manuel, king of Portugal, who had already been married successively to two of her aunts; and this sacrifice, for such it was considered, was brought about by the large bribes given by Manuel to Chievres and his wife, who had been the princess's governess.

In February, 1518, the cortes of Spain met at Valladolid. Though Charles had assumed the title of king, it had not yet been conferred on him by that assembly. On this occasion they allowed the title, but stipulated, that if at any future period their queen Juanna should recover her reason, the whole authority should return into her hands. At

the same time, though with some difficulty, they voted a donative of six hundred thousand ducats to be paid in three years, which was a larger sum than had ever been granted to any monarch; but the Flemings, instead of waiting the term, eager to touch the money, raised it at a high premium at once from the Italian bankers at Valladolid.

Charles next proceeded to Arragon, for the purpose of holding the cortes there; but they would not allow the members to be summoned in his name, but in that of the Justiza, to whom during an interregnum that privilege belonged. Great discontent was expressed at Saragoza; and though at length the crown was settled in the same manner as that of Castile, so much time was spent, that Charles having heard of Maximilian's death, sent to let the cortes know, that unless they made more haste he should be obliged to go to Germany, to ensure the imperial throne, without staying to finish the business of the session. When at length two hundred thousand ducats were voted to the king, they appropriated them so strictly to paying the debts of the crown, many of which had long been forgotten, that a very small part came into the king's hands; for, they said, they had rather satisfy the most obsolete claims of their countrymen than furnish strangers with the means of enriching themselves with the spoils of Spain.

From Saragoza Charles went to Barcelona to hold the states of Catalonia; and there he was

compelled to spend more time, suffer greater difficulties, and gained less money. The Flemings were so hated, that to disappoint and mortify them had become a principle of every native assembly.

But it became necessary for Charles to attend to his German affairs. Maximilian had never been actually crowned, so that the Germans and Italians had only regarded him as king of the Romans, and therefore during his life would not name Charles as his successor. But now Charles openly aspired to that dignity, which he hoped to obtain, partly of right, from its long continuance in the family of Austria, and partly because he trusted that the German princes would not elect a foreigner, but prefer him whose hereditary dominions of Austria served as a natural barrier against the encroachment of the Turkish power, which, under Selim II., had increased to such a pitch as to spread alarm over all Europe.

The competitor of Charles for the imperial crown was Francis I. of France. He urged to the German princes, that this was a favourable opportunity for proving that the imperial crown was elective, not hereditary, and many other topics, in which his own experience and character, and the youth and want of practice of Charles, were not forgotten. Henry VIII. of England, rather from ostentation than any real desire to possess the empire, also declared himself a candidate; but Charles

and Francis were the two princes whose claims engaged the consideration of the empire, and indeed of all Europe. Leo X., who was then pope, dreaded the success of either. Francis, as king of France and lord of Milan and Genoa, was too formidable a neighbour already to the secular principality of Rome, and the danger to be apprehended from him would be doubled if he became the head of the empire; but Charles being already king of Spain and Naples, and master of the new world, was still more formidable, and therefore he used every effort in his power to set up some third person who should succeed Maximilian.

The electors were equally averse to raise either of the powerful competitors to the throne, and they offered it to Frederic duke of Saxony, surnamed the Sage; but he rejected it on the ground that the near approach of the Turkish power rendered it absolutely necessary to place the imperial sceptre in the hands of a prince able to cope with that formidable enemy. After some farther deliberation, Charles was at length elected; but to guard against the encroachments so powerful a prince might be tempted to make on the liberties of the Germanic body, a *capitulation*, or claim of right, was formed, which Charles confirmed at his coronation, and which has ever since been considered as the charter of the freedom of Germany.

The king of Spain received the news of his elevation to the empire at Barcelona, where the per-

severance of the Catalonian cortes in claiming their rights before they would grant money still detained him. He appeared overjoyed at the event, and in all his public writs assumed the title of *majesty*; the monarchs of Europe before that time had been satisfied with the title of *highness* or *grace*.

The Spaniards were far from being pleased with the promotion of Charles. They foresaw that their king would reside little among them; that their treasures would be applied to the support of a foreign court; their blood shed in foreign quarrels; and the example of the cortes of Castile, which had prohibited Alonzo the Wise from leaving the kingdom to receive the imperial crown, was quoted as worthy of imitation.

Charles, however, paid no regard to the feelings of his Spanish subjects, and immediately prepared for his departure for Germany, without visiting Valencia, where he had summoned the cortes to meet him; but he deputed his tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, for whom he had obtained a cardinal's hat, to represent him there, to receive the oath of allegiance in his name, and to demand the donative. But the Valencian nobles declared that they could neither acknowledge, as king, a person who was absent, nor grant him any subsidy; and to this declaration they inflexibly adhered. To punish the grandees for this opposition, the king decided against them in favour of the commons of Valencia, who had lately taken up arms against them, and

had appealed to him. By so doing he encouraged the beginning of a civil war, which was attended with the most disastrous consequences. Castile had been agitated in the most violent manner, as soon as the emperor's intention to leave Spain was known. Several cities resolved to remonstrate against that step, and as he saw that it would be difficult to obtain the money which he wanted for his journey from any cortes assembled in that kingdom, he summoned the states of Castile to meet at Compostella, in Galicia. This affront was sensibly felt, and remonstrances were made from all quarters, when Charles threatened, if he were not obeyed, to remove not only the assemblies of the cortes, but the courts of justice out of Castile into Galicia—which threat did but incense the Castilians more.

At length, after much altercation, the cortes assembled at the place appointed, and, after violent opposition, the donative was voted by a very small majority of the members; but that was sufficient.

Charles was enabled to leave Spain, which he hated, for his own country, where he had objects of higher ambition to pursue, and he sailed for Coruña in May, 1520, leaving cardinal Adrian regent of Castile, don Juan de Lanuza viceroy of Arragon, and Diego de Mendoza, count of Meleto, viceroy of Valencia.

But the compliance of the cortes with the king's

demands kindled a civil war. When the deputies of Toledo, who had protested against the proceedings at Compostella, returned home, they were received with acclamations by the people as true Castilians, who deserved statues to be erected to them in every town. The citizens formed themselves into regiments, and placed at their head don Juan de Padilla, the son of the commendator of Castile, a young man of generous temper, undaunted courage, and considerable talents, whose enthusiasm for the freedom of his country was participated by his wife, donna Maria Pacheca, a daughter of the marquis of Mondejar, a woman of great wit, beauty, and courage.

The commons of Segovia understanding that Tordesillas, one of their procurators in the cortes, had voted for the donative, laid hands on him, and dragged him to the common gibbet, refusing to allow him a confessor, crying out, that none but the hangman could absolve those who had betrayed their country. At Burgos the houses of the deputies were destroyed, and their effects burnt. The people of Zamora were equally enraged, but were prevented from committing any act of violence against these deputies, by the bishop don Antonio d'Acunia, a prelate of learning and spirit, who joined the people in their cause, but moderated their proceedings. This bishop, and the prior of Complutan, were the only prelates who avowed the sentiments of the people; yet most were in the

beginning well-wishers to their cause, on account of the offence given them, by bestowing the archbishopric of Toledo on a foreigner. Most of the friars and priests were so eager for the commons, that they named their directing council the Sacred Junta; and the most zealous body of the whole army formed by the commons was one of four hundred priests raised by the bishop of Zamora. But few of the nobles joined the insurgents, yet they were far from wishing ill to them, until the commons forced them out of their neutrality, by threatening to resume all the crown lands belonging to such as did not make common cause with them.

The regent Adrian was no sooner apprised of these proceedings of the commons, than he appointed one Ronquillas, a severe and implacable judge, to go thither and proceed against the mutineers according to law, and sent, at the same time, a good body of troops to guard him against the attacks of the people. The Segovians took up arms with one accord, to keep Ronquillas from entering the town. The judge, enraged, caused all the avenues to be seized by his troops, but he was soon obliged to retire with loss.

Juan de Fonseca, appointed commander in chief of the troops in Castile by Charles, next undertook to reduce Segovia, but the people of Medina del Campo, where there was a great military storehouse, refused to let the cannon necessary for a

siege go from thence ; and Fonseca, enraged at their contumacy, set fire to the town, and reduced almost the whole of it to ashes. Medina was at that time the greatest mart for manufactures in Spain, and as the warehouses were then full of goods for the approaching fair, the loss was very great, and was universally felt. This cruelty of Fonseca's enraged the people beyond measure ; the commons of Valladolid burnt Fonseca's house to the ground, elected new magistrates, raised troops, and joined the rest of their countrymen.

Adrian, finding he had no force to repel the commons, now resolved to employ gentle means to dissolve their union ; he disbanded his troops, disavowed the proceedings of Fonseca, and sent commissioners to the junta, offering, if the cities would lay down their arms, to procure for them all their reasonable demands.

The junta, however, sent word to the cardinal, that though they had a great respect for his person, yet they could not acknowledge him as regent of Castile, as no foreigner could legally exercise that office ; they also sent him a manifesto, in which they set forth thirty conditions on which they would be ready to lay down their arms. These are as follow :—

1. The king shall reside and keep all his courts in Castile ; or, during his absence, his lieutenant shall be a native.

2. None but natives shall enjoy offices in church or state.

3. The king shall not marry without the consent of the cortes.

4. That no foreigners shall be naturalized.

5. That the procurators shall be paid for their attendance at the cortes by their own corporations.

6. That it shall not be lawful for the king to give any office or salary to any of the procurators of the cortes, or to name their president.

7. That the cortes shall be assembled at least once in three years.

8. That there shall be no free quarters, either for soldiers or the king's servants, for more than six days.

9. That the grants or promises made to the procurators of the cortes of Compostella be revoked.

10. That the excise shall be reduced to what it was at the death of queen Isabella.

11. That all grants from the crown since her death shall be revoked.

12. All new offices erected since the queen's death shall be put down.

13. All privileges granted to the nobles, to the prejudice of the commons, shall be revoked.

14. None shall hold two offices.

15. That the government of cities and towns shall not be put into the hands of the nobles.

16. That no chief magistrate receive a salary from a noble.

17. The lands of the nobles shall pay taxes.

18. That neither gold, silver, nor jewels be exported.

19. The king shall not give away money before it has been paid into the treasury.

20. That no corregidor remain in office longer than a year, but at the request of the people.

21. Corregidores shall be paid by the treasury, and not out of the forfeitures of persons condemned.

22. The goods of persons accused shall not be given away before they are convicted.

23. Whoever shall exercise any office for which he has paid shall be punished with death.

24. If any of the king's officers wrong the subject they shall be deprived of their places, and rendered incapable of holding any public employment.

25. None shall be compelled to buy papal indulgences.

26. That the BREVE subjecting the ecclesiastics to the king be abolished.

27. Prelates to reside with their flocks six months every year, under pain of forfeiting their income for the time.

28. The custom-house for Indian goods shall be removed to a more convenient place.

29. Neither sheep nor wool shall go out of the kingdom.

30. That the queen be allowed a royal maintenance.

The next step taken by the junta, with respect to the cardinal, was to send Padilla to seize the books of the council, and all other ensigns of his office of regent, which was done without offering the least personal disrespect, and he was allowed to continue in his palace in Valladolid without molestation, but only in the character of a private individual.

Padilla next marched to Tordesillas, where the unfortunate queen Joanna lived in seclusion, and being favoured by the inhabitants, he entered the town, which the regent had neglected to secure, and waiting upon the queen with all that ceremony which even in her sadness she loved, he laid before her, at length, the miserable condition of her Castilian subjects under her son, who permitted his foreign ministers to treat them with such rigour, that they had been obliged to take arms in defence of the liberties of their country. The queen, as if awakened from a lethargy, expressed great surprise, told him that she had never heard till that moment of the death of her father, or the distress of her subjects, that no blame could be imputed to her, and that she would provide a remedy: "in the mean time," added she, "do you whatever is necessary for the public service." Padilla, who was too willing to form a conclusion agreeable to

his wishes, mistook this lucid interval of Joanna for a return of her reason, and acquainting the junta with what had occurred, they removed from Avila to Tordesillas, whence they carried on the government in Joanna's name; who, though she received them courteously, and was present at a tournament held on occasion of her resuming the government, soon relapsed into her former melancholy, nor could she ever be prevailed on to sign any paper necessary for the despatch of business. Her temporary recovery, however, was regarded by the people as miraculous, and greatly encouraged the commons in their enterprise. The emperor, to whom frequent accounts of these transactions had been transmitted, became sensible of his imprudence in having so long despised the murmurs and remonstrances of the Castilians: he therefore now issued circular letters to the cities of Castile, exhorting them, with gentleness and promises of full pardon, to lay down their arms, engaged that all offices should, for the future, be conferred on native Castilians, and promised not to exact from the towns which had continued tranquil the subsidies granted by the cortes. He also wrote to the nobles, exciting them to defend their own rights, and those of the crown, against the unreasonable claims of the commons. He appointed, at the same time, the high admiral don Fadrique Henriquez, and the high constable don Iniguez de Velasco, regents of the kingdom, in conjunction with Adrian.

Had these measures been adopted before he left Spain, they would have satisfied the people; but they now came too late. The junta, elated with success, drew up a remonstrance to be presented to their king, which was little more than an amplification of the conditions before offered to the regent, and deputed some of their body to lay it before Charles; but they received notice at several places that they could not appear at court without endangering their lives, and therefore stopped short in their journey, and transmitted an account of what they had heard to the junta. This excited the most violent resentment: some proposed to deprive Charles during his mother's life of the regal titles, and the authority that had been conferred on him; others proposed that the queen should marry the prince of Calabria, the heir of the Neapolitan branch of the house of Arragon; and all agreed that it was now time to take the field, since the king of Castile refused to listen to the remonstrances of his subjects.

Unfortunately for the commons, instead of placing Padilla at the head of the army, don Pedro de Girón, heir of the count of Urena, was appointed general. He marched suddenly to Villapanda, in order to surprise the magazine of provisions belonging to the regents, and thereby left Tordesillas open to the enemy, who instantly took advantage of his neglect, surprised the place, seized the queen's person, and thus deprived the com-

mons of all the advantage they had enjoyed of governing in her name; and consequently many of the nobles who had hitherto been friendly to them joined the regents. The commons also begun to be divided among themselves: they suspected Giron of treachery, and though that suspicion was without foundation, he lost credit so entirely with his party that he resigned his commission, and retired to one of his castles.

Valladolid now became the head-quarters of the commons, and Padilla being appointed commander in chief, the army took the field with fresh hopes of being able to achieve the liberty of their country. What they most wanted was money. A great part of the current coin had been carried out of the kingdom by the Flemings, the regular taxes were inconsiderable, commerce was interrupted by the war, and the junta were afraid of levying contributions upon the people. Padilla's wife, donna Maria Pacheco, relieved them from this difficulty; she assembled the wives and daughters of several of the principal commons, and with them marched to the cathedral of Toledo bare-footed, in mourning habits, beating their breasts, and calling on the saints to pardon them in what they were about to do for the sake of their country. They then stripped the shrines of their rich ornaments, and applied the gold and silver so obtained to the payment of the troops. The regents were in equal distress when their own plate and the queen's

jewels were exhausted, but they borrowed a small sum from Portugal. In the course of this war, the objects of the resentment of the commons were changed. The king and his Flemish ministers had been long out of sight: the actual opponents to the people were the grandees, and on these they now had fixed such a measure of their resentment, that they were intent on destroying their order, and on reannexing their estates to the crown, which would have rendered the king absolute, instead of extending their own freedom. So blind do men led by passion become to their true interests! After some slight successes and the taking the strong place of Torrelabaton, the jealousy of the different members of the junta stopped Padilla's progress; and he was shortly afterwards taken by the constable of Castile and the conde de Haro in a battle at Villalar.

The next morning, without any regular trial, he was condemned to lose his head; and was instantly led to execution, together with don John Bravo; and don Francisco Maldonada, the former the commander of the Segovians, the latter of the troops of Salamanca. Padilla viewed the approach of death with calmness. When Bravo expressed some indignation at being proclaimed a traitor, Padilla observed, "Yesterday was the time to have displayed the spirit of gentlemen, this day to die with the meekness of christians." Being permitted to write to his wife, and to the community

of Toledo, he left for them the following letters, which it would be great injustice either to abridge or comment on.

PEDILLA'S LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

“ Senora,

“ If your grief did not afflict me more than my own death, I should deem myself perfectly happy. For the end of life being certain to all men, the Almighty confers a mark of distinguishing favour upon that person for whom he appoints a death such as mine, which though lamented by many, is nevertheless acceptable unto him. It would require more time than I now have, to write any thing that could afford you consolation. That my enemies will not grant, nor do I wish to delay the reception of that crown which I hope to enjoy. You may bewail your own loss, but not my death, which being so honourable ought not to be lamented by any. My soul, for nothing else is left to me, I bequeath to you. You will receive it as the thing in this world which you value most: I do not write to my father, Pero Lopez, because I dare not; for though I have shown myself to be his son in daring to lose my life, I have not been the heir of his good fortune. I will not attempt to say any thing more, that I may not tire the executioner who waits for me, and that I may not excite a suspicion that in order to prolong my life, I lengthen out my letter. My

servant Sosia, an eye-witness, and to whom I have communicated my most secret thoughts, will inform you of what I cannot now write : and thus I rest, expecting the instrument of your grief and of my deliverance.”

LETTER TO THE CITY OF TOLEDO.

“ To thee, the crown of Spain, and the light of the whole world, free from the time of the mighty Goths, to thee, who by shedding the blood of strangers as well as thy own blood hast recovered liberty for thyself and thy neighbouring cities, thy legitimate son, Juan de Padilla, gives information how by the blood of his body thy ancient victories are to be refreshed. If fate hath not permitted my actions to be placed among your successful and celebrated exploits, the fault hath been in my ill fortune, not in my good will : this I request of thee as of a mother to accept, since God hath given me nothing more to lose for thy sake than that which I am now to relinquish. I am more solicitous about thy good opinion than about my own life ; the shiftings of fortune, which never stands still, are many. But this I see with infinite consolation that I, the least of thy children, suffer death for thee, and that thou hast nursed at thy breasts such as may take vengeance for my wrongs. Many tongues will relate the manner of my death, of which I am still ignorant, though I know it to be near. My end will testify what was my desire.

My soul I recommend to thee as the patroness of Christianity. Of my body I say nothing, for it is not mine. I can write nothing more, for at this very moment I feel the knife at my throat with greater dread of thy displeasure than apprehension of my own pain."

The victory at Villalar was decisive. Valladolid, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and other towns, immediately yielded to the regents. Toledo alone, animated by the presence of donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's widow, held out. She possessed the same ascendancy over the people which her husband had exercised, and the prudence and vigour with which she acted justified their confidence. She wrote to the French general in Navarre to encourage him to invade Castile. She called on the other cities to join her, and raised troops, procured from the priests money to pay them, and used every artifice to interest the multitude. She set her little son, clad in deep mourning, on his father's mule, and led him through the city, causing a standard, representing Padilla's death, to be carried before him.

While the army of the regents were engaged in defending Navarre from the invasion of the French, they could not attempt to reduce Toledo by force; as soon as the invaders were repelled, however, the city was closely invested; but Maria defended the town with such vigour, that no impression was

made, until a circumstance occurred which deprived her of the sanction and support of the clergy. This was the death of William de Croi, the Flemish archbishop, and the appointment of a Castilian to succeed him. As the intrusion of a foreigner into their see had been the chief grievance of the priests, and as Maria had offended them by invading their property, they now represented her as an enchantress, aided by a demon in the shape of a negro maid servant, and the populace, weary of the long siege, and ever ready for any thing new, took up arms against her, and drove her out of the city. She retired to the citadel, which she defended with great fortitude for some time, but at length she fled to Portugal, where she had some relations, with whom she passed the rest of her life.

Upon her flight in Feb. 1522, the citadel surrendered, and peace was restored to Castile. But this unsuccessful attempt of the commons only contributed to confirm the power of the crown. The cortes, though they continued to make part of the constitution, became less and less free. The privileges of the cities were diminished, and their procurators had less influence in the national council.

The kingdom of Valencia had not been more tranquil than Castile. The indignation expressed at Charles's departure from Spain without appearing in the cortes had served to sharpen the angry feelings which had for some months existed be-

tween the nobles and commons. The favourable reception Charles had given to the delegates of the latter had seemed to sanction their cause, and they had formed an armed association or *Hermandad*, under pretence of defending the coasts from the pirates of Barbary, and which they said was approved of by the king. By means of this *Hermandad* they drove the nobles, whose oppression it must be confessed had been grievous, out of their cities, wasted their lands, and plundered their houses. The nobles took arms in self-defence. For two years a cruel war continued, in which at last the skill of the *grandees* overcame the spirit and numbers of the *Hermandad*, and being assisted by the troops of Castile after the reduction of Padilla, the government of Valencia resumed its ancient form and abuses, and the commons suffered the most cruel punishments.

In Majorca every gentleman was killed, and it was very long before the island was restored to peace. Arragon had likewise shown some symptoms of discontent, but the prudence of the viceroy, don Juan de Lanuza, prevented it from breaking out into open rebellion.

Had the different kingdoms in Spain united in their projects of reform, and concerted their operations against the nobles and the crown, Charles would in all probability have lost the throne of his ancestors. But at this period the various states of the peninsula had not been long enough united to

lose their national antipathy; the remembrance of their ancient rivalship was too strong to allow them to act with confidence in each other. At the same time the forms of government in the several kingdoms were so different, that the grievances of one state were not those of another, and there was no common feeling on which to found a common cause. Hence then each following a separate end, they were subdued one by one to the will of the sovereign.

The war in Navarre, which had been happily terminated by the regents of Castile during the continuation of the civil disturbances, would scarcely merit notice had it not been that Ignatius Loyola, a Biscayan gentleman, was wounded at the siege of Pamplona. While confined for his cure he was led, from the mortification he suffered at the idea of being disfigured, to entertain thoughts of seclusion, and thence to study. One of the first books that fell into his hands was a Martyrology, and being of an enthusiastic temper, he pursued the study of theology with such ardour, as that, not being the first soldier, he might be the first priest in the world. He afterwards instituted the order of Jesuits, the most powerful that ever practised on the credulity of their fellow-creatures.

Meanwhile the emperor had been engaged in affairs of the utmost moment to all Europe. The preference given him in the eyes of the world over his young, spirited, and ambitious rival, Francis

the First, laid the foundation for that personal jealousy between them which, increased by political rivalry and clashing interests, led to wars which involved the whole of the civilised world in their consequences. The pope and the Venetians were both anxious to prevent the jealousy of Charles and Francis from carrying the war, which they foresaw, into Italy, where both had pretensions to the duchy of Milan. The two princes were equally eager to secure the friendship of Henry VIII., king of England, who was at that time in a state of such prosperity as to render the assistance he might lend to either of the utmost importance. Francis had, by courting Wolsey, Henry's minister, obtained a promise from the king that he would visit him in France, for the purpose of conferring on their mutual interests. Charles, however, on his way from Spain landed at Dover, procured an interview with Henry, and had the address to detach him entirely from the interests of Francis, for which he granted Wolsey an *additional* pension of seven thousand ducats, having paid him largely before for his good offices.

Charles remained only four days in England, and then proceeded to the Netherlands, where, however, he made no stay, but hurried on to Aix la Chapelle, where he was crowned with greater pomp than had appeared on any former occasion. This solemnity was scarcely over when he was called upon to check the progress of the reforma-

tion, which had already made considerable advances in different provinces of Germany and in Switzerland; and for that end he assembled a diet at Worms, which did little more than pass an edict of censure against Luther.

Charles's attention indeed was divided by the various interests which now pressed upon him. The king of France was attacking Navarre in behalf of the heir of Jean d'Albret, he also threatened the Low Countries and the emperor's dominions in Italy; while daily letters from Spain, detailing the progress of the war of the commons, alarmed him for the possession of Castile, the most valuable of all his possessions.

Under these circumstances he spared neither pains, concessions, nor promises to obtain the friendship of the pope, with whom he at length secretly concluded a treaty, by means of don John Manuel, the former favourite of his father Philip. Chievres, his own minister, was so exasperated at his having done so without consulting him, that he is said to have died of vexation, and it is certain that he expired a few days afterwards. This league produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the chief theatre of war. Odet de Foix, marechal de Lautrec, governor of Milan, had by his harshness and severity disgusted the people with the French government, and this disgust greatly facilitated the progress of the Imperial army under Prosper Colonna; in a short time

Milan was entered without difficulty by the marquis of Pescara, and soon afterwards Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state, and of all their conquests in Lombardy only the town of Cremona, and a few inconsiderable forts, remained in the hands of the French.

But the operations of the confederacy were suspended by the sudden death of Leo, while still in the vigour of age and at the height of his glory. Yet even this event tended to the lustre of Charles's administration; for the conclave unable to come to a decision as to Leo's successor, the young and powerful cardinals were opposed by the more numerous aged and inefficient members, till at length, on the name of Adrian of Utrecht being mentioned, all parties agreed to raise him to the throne, though perhaps of the whole number of cardinals he was the least fitted for the situation as a temporal prince, though his conscientious discharge of what he considered his duties might have fitted him for the station of bishop of Rome, before the popes had assumed the character of worldly princes instead of spiritual fathers.

Shortly after this event the French were driven completely out of the Milanese, and by the assistance of the Adorni a noble family of Genoa, the hereditary enemies of the Fregosi the partisans of France, that city also was wrested from Francis, and the authority of the emperor established. These successes, and the general prosperity of his affairs,

permitted him at length to set out for Spain, where his presence was particularly necessary on account of the disturbed state both of Castile and of Valentia.

He visited the court of England, where he staid six weeks, on his way to Spain, and succeeded beyond his expectations in strengthening his friendship not only with Henry but with Wolsey, then in the fulness of his power. They entered warmly into all his schemes, and eagerly prepared for hostilities with France. The earl of Surrey was appointed high admiral of the empire, and sailed with such forces as were ready to harass the coast of Normandy, and afterwards joined the Flemings under the count de Buren in an attack on Picardy, but with little success.

While the Christian princes were thus engaged in a war the most general that had yet distressed Europe, Solyman the Magnificent, who had succeeded Selim II. on the Turkish throne, had taken Belgrade, and afterwards attacked the knights of St. John of Jerusalem in the island of Rhodes, universally acknowledged to be the bulwark of Christendom against the Ottoman arms. The garrison of five thousand soldiers and six hundred knights, under the grand master, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, made a defence during six months scarcely to be equalled in history. After which, being destitute of every resource, Solyman, who admired and respected their valour, granted them an ho-

nourable capitulation. Charles and Francis endeavoured to throw the blame of not succouring Rhodes on each other; the rest of the world blamed them both. The emperor, by way of reparation, gave them the small island of Malta, where they fixed their residence, retaining their ancient spirit, and their hatred against the infidels.

On Charles's arrival in Spain, great apprehensions were entertained as to the measures he might adopt with regard to the towns which had been in arms; but he prudently published an act of indemnity, from which only fourscore persons were exempted. We could wish that the name of Padilla's widow had not been among these. But it appears that he took no active measures against even those whom he excepted; for when an officious courtier offered to inform him where one of the most considerable was concealed, he said, "Go, I have no reason to be afraid of that man; but he has some cause to keep at a distance from me, and you would be better employed in telling him that I am here than in acquainting me with his place of retreat." Nor was this the only means he took to conciliate the Spaniards. Sensible that in his former visit he had been ill advised, he avoided all that could recal it to their memory. He assumed their manners, spoke their language constantly, complied with all their customs, and so ingratiated himself with them as to acquire a power over them, which no former monarch had ever possessed.

The next two years were employed by Charles in visiting the different cities of Spain, holding the cortes of the several kingdoms, and providing for the defence of the northern frontier against the arms of France, and of the coasts against the Algerines and other African corsairs. But the impoverished state of the kingdom disappointed him in the amount of the donative necessary for carrying on his Italian wars. Nevertheless, exulting in his success in driving the French out of Italy, and relying on the assistance of England, and that of the duke of Bourbon, who had rebelled against Francis and joined his enemies, he resolved to invade France, and accordingly his general, the marquis of Pescara, entered Provence, and laid siege to Marseilles, but was shortly forced to retreat, and Francis, in return, invaded the Milanese, appointing his mother, Louise of Savoy, regent of France during his absence.

The embarrassment of the imperial generals was extreme; for though Charles possessed more extensive dominions than any prince in Europe, his army amounted to scarcely more than 15,000 men; and he was in absolute want of money for their pay, provision, and clothing. Francis had the address to detach pope Clement VII. who had succeeded Adrian, and the Florentines, from Charles, and had overrun most of the imperial provinces even to Naples. But, in 1525, having met the emperor's troops at Pavia, he was defeated,

taken prisoner, and his army entirely routed. When Francis was taken, Lannoy, Charles's general, who received his sword, knelt as he took it, and kissing the king's hand, presented him with his own sword, saying, it did not become so great a monarch to be unarmed in the presence of the emperor's subject. Ten thousand of the French were killed, and among them many noblemen of distinction; not a few were taken prisoners, the most illustrious of whom was Henry d'Albret, the unfortunate king of Navarre. In two weeks after the battle not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

Francis wrote to his mother, that "all was lost save honour." Her prudent conduct saved the kingdom, which she put into a state of defence, and shortly afterwards gained over the king of England from the imperial cause.

Charles received the account with apparent moderation; without uttering a word of exultation, he retired to his private chapel, where he spent an hour in prayer and thanksgiving, and then returned to the court to receive the congratulations which all were eager to pour forth. But Charles's moderation was only external. The situation of his finances did not indeed allow him to carry on any extraordinary military operations, but he laid so much stress on the result of the battle of Pavia, that he imagined any terms he might propose for the delivery of Francis would be accepted.

The king of France had been carried by Lannoy

to the castle of Pizzichitone, near Cremona, the day after the battle, and there placed under the care of don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, a gentleman of strict honour, great bravery, and undoubted faith. Charles commanded the count de Roux to wait on Francis there, and propose the following conditions of freedom:—that he should surrender Provence and Dauphine to form an independent state for the constable of Bourbon: that he should grant the claims of the king of England, and renounce all pretensions to Naples, Milan, or any other part of Italy. When the king, who expected greater generosity from a rival sovereign, heard these proposals, he drew his dagger hastily, and cried out, “ ’Twere better that a king should die thus.” Alarcon, alarmed, seized his hand; but though he became more composed, he solemnly declared that he would remain a prisoner for life rather than purchase liberty by such shameful concessions.

Francis, hoping still that a personal interview with Charles might mitigate the terms of liberty, readily consented to go to Spain, rather than be conveyed to Naples, whither the Italian confederates wished him to be carried, and therefore furnished the galleys himself for that purpose, as Charles was at the moment unable to fit out a proper squadron. He landed at Barcelona, and was thence conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the Alcazar, still under the superintendence of Alarcon,

where he was treated with great rigour, and Charles, under pretence that he was obliged to be present at the court of Toledo, suffered several weeks to elapse without visiting his illustrious prisoner, although he most earnestly entreated an interview.

These indignities made a deep impression on Francis; he lost his appetite and his cheerfulness, and was at length seized with a dangerous fever, during the violence of which he constantly complained of the unprincely rigour with which he had been treated. The physicians despairing of his life, Charles resolved to visit him; but though the chancellor of Castille, Gattinara, represented to him the dishonour of doing so merely to prolong his life, if he did not instantly release him on equal terms, he resolved on only showing him so much courtesy as might give him hopes sufficient to raise his spirits, and remove the disease, without a thought of really changing his conduct. His visit had the desired effect. Francis recovered his health, but had soon the mortification to find that the emperor's extravagant demands were not abated; and shortly afterwards, when his own rebellious subject, the constable Bourbon, visited Spain, Charles went to meet him without the gates of Toledo, embraced him, and conducted him to his apartment. But though the emperor could thus encourage a traitor, the noble Spaniards openly showed their disdain of Bourbon's crimes. They shunned all intercourse with him; and when Charles desired the

marques de Villena to lend Bourbon his palace at Toledo, he replied, That he could not refuse it to his majesty, but that he must not be offended, if, as soon as Bourbon quitted it, he burned it to the ground; for that the house polluted by the residence of a traitor was no fit habitation for a man of honour.

Bourbon had flattered himself that he should obtain the hand of Charles's sister, Leonora, the widow of Emanuel, king of Portugal; but the princess was so unwilling to conclude the match, which had been one of Bourbon's inducements to quit the service of Francis for that of Charles, that it was found impossible to fulfil the emperor's promise to that effect. The embarrassment of Charles on the subject was unexpectedly relieved by the death of the marquis of Pescara, who, at the age of thirty-six, left behind him the reputation of being one of the greatest generals and ablest politicians of that century. The command of the imperial army in Italy, which had become vacant by that event, was now bestowed on Bourbon, together with a grant of the duchy of Milan, which had been forfeited by Sforza, who had entered into a conspiracy with the Italian states against the emperor immediately after the battle of Pavia, when the sudden depression of France, and success of the imperialists, had alarmed them for the freedom of Italy*.

* The Italian affairs of Charles concern the empire, and hardly affect him as king of Spain; they are therefore purposely passed over as slightly as possible.

The severity of Charles, and his obstinate adherence to the degrading conditions he had proposed to Francis, at length drove that monarch to the resolution of resigning his crown to the dauphin, in order that France might be at liberty to act as was most beneficial to the state without regard to him. The duchess of Alençon, who had been permitted to visit him, was empowered to carry the act of resignation, which was duly signed with legal formality, to France, and intimating his purpose to Charles, he desired him to name the place of his confinement, and to assign him a proper number of attendants for the remainder of his days.

Charles now began to be sensible that he had pushed matters so far as to be in danger of defeating his own measures, and that instead of receiving the ransom of a powerful monarch, he would have to guard a prince without dominions or revenues. About the same time also Henry d'Albret, who had been a close prisoner ever since the battle of Pavia, was delivered from confinement by the fidelity and address of one of his domestics, and the emperor was convinced that the utmost attention of his officers might fail to secure his captive. He therefore somewhat mitigated the conditions of Francis's liberty, but they were still so degrading and dishonourable, that a few hours before Francis signed the treaty, he assembled such of his counsellors as were at Madrid, and swearing them to

secrecy, enumerated to them the dishonourable arts and unprincely rigour the emperor had employed to extort the treaty from him; he therefore protested against its validity, and thus he endeavoured to satisfy his conscience in signing a treaty he was resolved to violate.

A month after the conclusion of the treaty at Madrid, the regent's ratification arrived from Paris. The dauphin and the duke of Orleans, the two eldest sons of Francis, were sent to the frontier to be exchanged for their father. A body of horse under Alarcon escorted the king to the frontiers; and Lautrec, with an equal escort, awaited with the princes the arrival of the royal captive on the banks of the river Andaye, which separates the two kingdoms.

In an empty boat, in the middle of the stream, the king embraced his children for a moment, and then leaped into Lautrec's boat, and reached the French shore. He instantly mounted a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and crying aloud "I am yet a king," galloped full speed to St. Jean de Luz, and thence to Bayonne. This event, so joyful to France, took place on the 18th of March, 1526.

Soon after the emperor had taken leave of Francis at Madrid, he set out for Seville, in order to solemnise his marriage with his cousin-german Isabella, the daughter of Emanuel, king of Portugal, a princess of great beauty and goodness, with

whom he always lived in perfect harmony, and whom he treated with the greatest respect. The marriage was extremely agreeable to both countries, and Charles received a dowry most acceptable to him in the existing state of his affairs; namely, nine hundred thousand crowns in money.

From Seville Charles proceeded to Grenada, principally peopled by Moors. They spared nothing to render their city agreeable to the emperor and his young empress, and exhibited before them a variety of Moorish pageants, especially the military dance called Leylas, which is said not to be the less pleasing to the spectators for the degree of danger the dancers incur. Taking advantage of the time of feasting, they sent him a memorial by don Francesco de Venegas, don Michael de Arragon, and don Lope de Benezara, three of the corregidors, complaining of the insufferable grievances they endured from the clergy, judges, and other persons in authority, and praying redress. A commission was immediately appointed to examine into these things as well as to observe the conduct of the Moors, and how they maintained the christianity they had professed. The visitors found all the complaints too well founded; at the same time they could not but perceive that whatever might be the external profession of the Moors, they were still, with very rare exceptions, Mahomedans in their hearts.

A new commission was immediately appointed, consisting of the archbishop of Seville, who was inquisitor-general, the bishop of Osma, confessor to Charles, four other prelates, the grand commendador of Calatrava, and some civilians, to devise remedies for both evils; when, after several long consultations, a decree, containing the following articles, was passed.

1st. The court of inquisition shall be moved from Jaen to Grenada, to be a standing terror to such Moors as shall relapse into Mahometanism.

2nd. No offence of the Moors committed before the year 1527 to be punished, but after that period they shall be subject to the utmost rigor of the inquisition.

3rd. The Moors shall no longer speak Arabic, but Spanish, and all their contracts shall be written in Spanish.

4th. The Moors shall no longer wear their national habit.

5th. On pain of death, no tailor to make clothes, nor artificer to build houses, after the Moorish fashion.

6th. A Christian woman to be present at the birth of every Moor, to prevent the practice of Mahomedan ceremonies.

7th. Colleges to be erected in Grenada, Guadix, and Almeria, for the education of Moorish children in the Christian faith.

Thus those commissioners, who were assembled for the purpose of inquiring into the grievances of the Moors, only laid the heavier burden on them, and they accordingly complained loudly to Charles, and especially of the article by which the inquisition was established among them. The king so far mitigated the severity of the decree, as to prevent the estates of such Moors as should be accused by the inquisitors from being forfeited, and to permit them to wear their national habit; but for even these indulgences they are said to have paid eighty thousand ducats.

But these proceedings against the Moors of Grenada were unimportant compared with what had been going on in Valencia. When the inquisition, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella, had been re-established for the persecution of the Jews, the barons of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, sensible of the great importance of protecting the Moors who formed the main population of the latter province, and whose trade was the chief support of the commercial towns of those parts of Spain, determined to protect them against the persecution under which their brethren in Grenada early began to suffer. In 1510, when Ferdinand was anxious either to expel them from the country, or force them to be baptised, the cortes of Valencia obliged him to give his assent to a law prohibiting the expulsion

or forced conversion of the Moors or Morescoes of the kingdom of Valencia, and encouraging them to trade either among themselves, or with Christians; and, subsequently, they made it part of their king's coronation oath, that *He should on no pretence whatsoever expel the Moors, nor force them to be baptised, nor seek a dispensation from that oath, directly or indirectly.* Thus the nobles of Valencia trusted they had secured the interests of the most numerous and industrious of the inhabitants.

But during the rebellion of the commons against the nobles, the people, regarding the Moors as the favoured followers of the grandees, fell upon them, and by violence forced them to conform, at least in appearance, to the Christian faith; and the inquisition chose to consider this forced conversion as real, and to attack all who disavowed the profession which they had been compelled to make. Shortly afterwards, pope Clement VII. sent Charles a dispensation from that branch of the coronation oath which regarded the Moors of Valencia, and Charles immediately sent preachers among them to endeavour to convert them, and wrote a letter to them at the same time, threatening the utmost severity in case they refused baptism.

The council of Arragon remonstrated warmly against these proceedings, representing the danger as well as inconvenience of their violence;

but Charles obstinately resolved to proceed, alleging that to convert these infidels, by any means, was the fittest way of showing thankfulness to God for having delivered the French king into his hands; and he accordingly sent commissioners into Valencia, who were to see baptism enforced, under pain of perpetual slavery to such as should refuse. As soon as this measure was known, fifteen or sixteen thousand families fled with their wives, children, and effects, to the mountains of Bernia; and so far were the grandees from stopping them, that they gave them encouragement, hoping that the king would change his measures when he saw the effect they were likely to produce; but he persevered in his resolution, and accordingly sent troops from all quarters to attack the mountain retreats of the fugitives. It was in the month of April that they fled to the mountains, and not until the middle of August that they could be brought to make any concession; but at length, anxious to return to their homes, and seeing the mountain passes occupied by troops, they submitted, upon a promise of a general pardon, and were anew received into that church, which, by the commons' violence, they had been compelled to acknowledge. This scene was scarcely over before a proclamation came forth, commanding all the Moriscoes who had never been baptised to receive that sacrament

under pain of perpetual servitude ; and the former commissioners were ordered to stay in Valencia to see the decree put in execution.

In the capital the task was not found difficult ; for there were few there who had not by some means been forced into the church. But in Almonacir, where none had been baptised, the case was different. The gates were shut against the commissioners, and all that were able to bear arms took them up, and declared they would die fighting, rather than be slaves or Christians. The town stood a siege of four months, when being taken by assault, most of the inhabitants were butchered, and the small remnant baptised. Of the Valentian nobles, the baron of Cortea was the only one who seconded the commissioners with zeal, but he was killed in the exercise of his tyrannical power.

The Moors of the valleys of Segorbe, Xua, Almonacir, and Monvedro, fled to the mountains of Espadon as soon as the fate of Almonacir was known, and there fortified themselves in the passes, and were supplied with provisions by the new Christians, whom no vigilance could prevent from succouring their unfortunate brethren. The regent, donna Germana, widow of Ferdinand, sent a body of three thousand men to reduce the rebels ; but that being found ineffective, the standard of Valencia, which all the grandees are bound to fol-

low, was raised, but so thinly attended that the Moors were not molested by it.

Charles perceiving that it was impossible to prevail with the Valentians really to attack their countrymen, now sent a body of three thousand Germans, who, having joined the Spaniards, attacked the principal hold of the Moors so vigorously the morning after they arrived, that they carried it before noon, and put all the men, women, and children they met with to the sword. The Spaniards indeed only slew the old people, saving the youths for baptism, when after the ceremony they sold them for slaves. Such was what is gravely called the general conversion of Valencia!

This forced baptism of persons totally ignorant of the doctrines of christianity naturally led to much that was called apostasy and heresy, and afforded ground for persecutions and burnings and confiscations, by the holy office. The nobles, faithful to the interests of their vassals, endeavoured to mitigate these proceedings, and among other means agreed in their name to pay to the inquisition an enormous yearly sum, in lieu of such Moorish estates as might have been forfeited to it, trusting that by removing one temptation from the inquisitors, they should procure some respite to their cruelty. But their efforts were in vain; the inquisitors continued their tyranny, and pre-

pared the way for more atrocious cruelties in the succeeding reign.

The affairs of the new world had undergone a great and momentous change, since the discovery of Columbus. The Spaniards, accustomed to treat the Moors taken in battle as slaves, made no scruple of appropriating the Indians of the new countries to the same purposes, and accordingly a law had passed empowering the governors to make *repartimientos*, or distributions of the Indians according to the rank or services of the new colonists. Gentle as these people were, they yet made several efforts to recover their liberty, though of course without permanent effect. At length, driven to despair, numbers of them by a voluntary death escaped the stripes of their hard masters, and on more than one occasion the inhabitants of whole villages were found hanging on the trees surrounding their habitations, unable longer to bear the harsh yoke of their masters. The whole account of the Spanish settlements is revolting; their atrocious cruelties were first practised in Hispaniola, when the district of Xaragua was obtained by a scandalous treason. The female cacique, Anacoana, was seized by the Spanish governor in the midst of a friendly feast, carried in chains to San Domingo, tried by a Spanish judge, and hanged!

Hatuey, a cacique from Hayti, had taken re-

fuge in Cuba, and when the Spaniards invaded the latter island he opposed their landing, but was taken prisoner and condemned by Velasquez, one of the best of the Spaniards, to the flames: while at the stake a Franciscan friar laboured to convert him, and talked to him of the joys of Heaven. "Are there any Spaniards there?" said he. "Yes," replied the monk, "such as are good men." Then returned Hatuey, "I will not go to a place where I may meet even the best of that accursed race."

Yet the government of the Spanish colonies as it respected the Europeans had been well and carefully conducted; and an excellent police had been established. Ferdinand, who had at length acknowledged the importance of the new discovery, erected a board of trade, *Casa de contractation*, at Seville, to which he intrusted the administration of American affairs. He gave a regular form to the ecclesiastical government, by appointing various degrees of priests to the different districts, but refused to permit the church of Rome to interfere. The sugar-cane had been transplanted from the Canary Islands to Hayti, and found to thrive so well, that great sugar works were soon established, and this article soon became much more valuable than the gold mines.

About the year 1512, Ponce de Leon, persuaded that among the newly discovered islands that one must lie so long desired by the Orientals, and believed to contain a spring possessed of the

power of restoring youth to such as bathed in its waters, fitted out three ships at his own expense, and sailing in pursuit of this imaginary spot, discovered Florida. Nearly at the same period, Balboa, the governor of a small colony called Santa Maria, at Darien, having heard among the Indians that in six days journey to the south he might reach another ocean, and a land abounding in gold, set out to make the discovery, and accordingly, though with much toil, and after making a circuitous march of twenty-five days, he discovered the Pacific Ocean, and marching up to his middle in the waves took possession of it in the name of the king his master. The fate of Balboa was cruel. His successor caused him to be hanged. Solis, another leader, had explored the coast of South America as far as the Rio de la Plata, but made no permanent settlement, being deterred by the Cannibals of Brazil from attempting it.

But the sufferings of the Indians did not go quite unnoticed. The Dominican monks represented first to the governors, and afterwards to the king, the injustice and cruelty of enslaving them; but though the principle was acknowledged, and some edicts were made in their favour, such as either to free them or treat them with kindness, nothing effectual was done for their relief: cardinal Ximenes indeed had sent out a commission for their protection, but at his death the Flemings, and Charles at their head, resolved on obtaining

the wealth of America, sacrificed the hands that should have produced it. One man, the famous Bartholemew de Las Casas, continued the friend and apostle of the Indians; but so much does a particular interest blind even the best men to a general good, that he, in order to save the Indians, proposed the importation of the hardy Negroes of Africa to dig the mines and till the ground of America. Cardinal Ximenes had always opposed this scheme as being as wicked, and if possible still more unjust, than the repartimientos; but when Charles took upon him the government, the importation of Africans into the new world was allowed. As early as 1503, a few Negroes had been carried to the New World, in 1511 greater numbers were transported thither, but in 1517, Charles granted a patent to one of his Flemish favourites, for the importation of 4000 Negro slaves into America. The favourite sold his patent for 25,000 ducats to some Genoese merchants, and they were the first who brought the slave-trade between Africa and the New World into a regular form. Yet even this produced no mitigation of the lot of the Indians, nor did the virtuous labours of Las Casas, who watched unceasingly for occasions to improve their condition, succeed. They were everywhere oppressed, in many places totally exterminated, and wherever the native possessors of the soil still exist, they are treated as outcasts or savages by the usurpers of their country.

In the same year in which Charles first authorised the slave-trade, a fleet, fitted out by Velasquez, governor of Santiago de Cuba, and commanded by Fernan Hernandez de Cordoba, had discovered the coast of Yucatan and Campeachy. Grijalva shortly afterwards had formed a settlement on the coast of New Spain, and these were immediately followed by the memorable expedition of Hernan Cortez to Mexico. This remarkable man was of a noble family of Medellin in Estremadura, and, at the time of his first expedition from Cuba to Mexico, was thirty-three years of age. His force consisted of eleven vessels, the largest of one hundred tons, three were of seventy or eighty tons, and the rest were open barks: on board of these were six hundred and seventeen men, of which a hundred and nine were seamen and artificers. Only thirteen soldiers carried muskets, thirty-two had cross-bows, and the rest were armed with spears and swords. Instead of mail the men wore jackets quilted with cotton, which they found not only lighter but a better defence against the arrows of the natives: they had only sixteen horses, ten small field-pieces, and four falconets.

With this slender train did Cortez set sail to make war on the cacique of Mexico, whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to Charles's crown. Religious enthusiasm, mixed with the thirst of gold and of conquest, led on the adventurers. A large cross was displayed

on their standards, with this inscription; *Let us follow the Cross; for under this sign we shall conquer.* In 1519 Cortez arrived at St. Juan de Ulloa, and there first saw the Mexicans, and heard their language, which was different from that of any other people the Spaniards had yet visited. A female slave, however, whom Cortez married, and caused to be baptized by the name of donna Marina, understood both the Mexican and Yucatan tongues, and accordingly served as interpreter; so that Cortez was enabled to communicate with the ambassadors whom Montezuma, the cacique, sent to meet him on the sea-shore. He was astonished at the degree of civilization displayed by the envoys. He perceived that, by means of pictures painted on cotton cloth, they communicated, as by letter, with the capital, and that couriers were stationed at regular distances to convey these pictures; so that the communications were made in a very few days. Montezuma sent splendid presents to Cortez, but forbade his approach to the capital, or even his stay in the country—a prohibition to which the Spaniard paid no attention. He first founded the town of Villa Rica, as a point on which he might depend for supplies and store of provisions, and as a place of refuge for the sick, and then proceeded to Mexico. The minute history of his progress is interesting, but too long to find a place here. He took advantage of the discontent of some provinces against Montezuma's government, lent

assistance to some of his enemies; and partly by stratagem, partly by force, advanced gradually through the country, until, on the 29th October, 1519, he came in sight of the city of Mexico. If the taking of that city presents an example of unrivalled constancy, presence of mind, policy, and bravery on the part of Cortez, and of patriotism, devotion, and fortitude on that of the Mexicans, it also displays a scene of such atrocious cruelty and shameless fraud, that we turn from it with disgust and horror. Montezuma, seized and kept a prisoner by the intruders in his own capital, and then exposed by them to the weapons of his own subjects, under which he expired, furnishes a moral picture that dims all the glories of Cortez, and outweighs all the treasures he transmitted to Spain.

On the second taking of the city in 1521, for once the Mexicans had recovered their capital, the virtuous Guatemozin, the successor of Montezuma, together with his chief minister, was put to the torture, in order to force from him a confession of the place where he had concealed his treasures. After this all the provinces of Mexico submitted, one after another. The Christian religion was planted there. The human sacrifices of the Mexicans were put an end to for ever. But the names of those who first obtained the country must be for ever detested, on account of their cruelty, treachery, and rapaciousness. Guatemozin survived the torture but a year. He was then suspected of planning the

recovery of his kingdom, and by Cortez' order was hanged, together with the caciques of two neighbouring provinces.

Meanwhile Charles, who received from time to time accounts of the success of Cortez, had also heard repeated complaints of his haughtiness and avarice, and even listened to insinuations that the captain-general had schemes for setting up an independent empire in the New World. Unmindful of his services, the emperor ordered a solemn inquest to be made into his conduct, and intrusted the licentiate, Ponce de Leon, with that important commission. Ponce de Leon, however, died suddenly a few days after he landed in New Spain; but as the object of his voyage was well known, Cortez resolved to repair directly to Castile, and there plead his own cause with Charles. He arrived in the year 1528, attended by several Mexicans of rank, and the most considerable of his own officers. Charles received him with distinction, and conferred on him the order of Santiago, the title of marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, and the grant of a considerable territory in New Spain. But he constantly refused to renew the ample powers and jurisdiction he had before exercised. The military department, with permission to make new discoveries, was left in his hands, but the direction of civil affairs was confided to a board called the *Audience of New Spain*.

At a subsequent period Antonio de Mendoza, a grandee of high rank, was sent thither as viceroy,

and Cortez was gradually forgotten, and died at length in the sixty-second year of his age, more of a broken heart from neglect than any bodily disorder.

While Cortez had been adding an empire to the crown of Spain, Magellan, or Magelhaens, a Portuguese in the service of Castile, had first reached the Pacific Ocean by the straits that bear his name: he fell in early with the trade wind, and crossed the great South Sea in three months and twenty days, when he discovered the *Ladrone* Islands, and thence proceeded to the Philippines, where he was killed in a skirmish with the natives; his fleet, however, under Juan Sebastian del Cano, went on to the Portuguese settlement of Tidore, and then taking in a cargo of spices at a neighbouring island, pursued the way homeward by the Cape of Good Hope. Having circumnavigated the globe in three years and thirty-eight days, Cano arrived at San Lucar on the 7th September, 1522, having, by actual experiment, proved the rotundity of the earth and its extent.

But while the dominions of Spain had been extended by the enterprise, the valour, and the crimes of the adventurers in the new world, the consequences of the imprisonment of Francis I. had involved the emperor and his Italian allies in a new war. Alarmed at the success of Charles, the pope and several other states formed a confederacy against him, and to secure the assistance of France, Cle-

ment VII. absolved the king from his obligation to observe the treaty of Madrid. Henry VIII. was declared protector of the league, which was called *the holy league*, because the pope was at the head of it; and to secure the king of England, a principality in the kingdom of Naples was to be settled upon him; and lands to the value of ten thousand ducats were to be given to Wolsey.

The imperial army in Italy had been reinforced by 6000 men from Spain, under Lanoy and Alarcon, and by 16,000 horse and foot from Germany; but these, as well as the old troops, soon became clamorous for pay, which the emperor's finances were too scanty to afford, and it required all the firmness and address of Bourbon to keep them from open mutiny. Nothing but action and a prospect of plunder could at length preserve them within the bounds of discipline; and it was this poverty of the emperor which prevented his paying the hungry soldiers, which determined that general on one of the boldest exploits of modern times.

He unexpectedly marched to Rome, before whose walls he arrived on the 5th May, 1527, and commanding his soldiers to refresh themselves that night in order to prepare for the assault of the city next day, he promised them the reward of their long sufferings in the possession of all the riches accumulated there.

Early in the morning Bourbon, clad in complete armour, over which he wore a vest of white tissue,

that he might be readily distinguished, led his troops to scale the walls. The contest was at first obstinate, and Bourbon was killed just as he had placed a ladder to scale the wall himself. As soon as his fall was known the enraged soldiers doubled their efforts to revenge it; they soon entered the city, and whatever a place taken by storm can dread from military rage, unrestrained by discipline, was suffered by the wretched inhabitants. The Imperialists kept possession of Rome several months; and, during all that time, the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Their booty, in ready money alone, amounted to a million of ducats: what they raised by ransoms greatly exceeded that sum. Rome was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, and Goths, as it was now by the bigoted subjects of a catholic monarch.

After Bourbon's death, the command devolved on Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange*; he conducted the siege of the castle of St. Angelo, whither the pope had fled, and obliged his holiness to surrender at discretion, after having been reduced to feed on ass's flesh. Clement was committed to the care of Alarcon, who formerly had the custody of Francis I., and the news of his capture was immediately transmitted to Madrid, where Charles received it with great but secret joy. In

* He afterwards married the heiress of Nassau, and was the ancestor of king William III.

compliance with the feelings of the people he pretended grief for the capture of the holy pontiff, he and his court wore mourning on the occasion, and processions were ordered to obtain from Heaven his release, when a single order to his generals would have set Clement at liberty!

A general indignation was felt throughout Europe at the manner in which the pope had been treated. The members of the holy league began in earnest to exert themselves against the emperor. Lautrec, at the head of the best troops in France, marched into Italy, and with the assistance of Andrea Doria, the ablest sea officer of that age, he rendered himself master of Genoa. He took Pavia, and reduced Alexandria and all the country on that side of the Tesino, and then marched slowly on to Rome, the main design of the king of France being to secure the kingdom of Naples.

Charles in the meanwhile not having been able to obtain money from the cortes of Castile, assembled that year at Valladolid, resolved to liberate the pope, on condition of receiving as ransom a sum sufficient to pay the arrears due to the troops, without which it was certain they would not leave Rome. Accordingly, in the sixth month of Clement's captivity he was liberated, on paying 100,000 crowns, engaging to pay 250,000 more, promising not to join the war against Charles, and granting him the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain by a bull of *crusado*, besides putting him in

possession of several towns, as security for the performance of these articles.

But in the meantime Henry VIII. and Francis I. had sent their ambassadors to Madrid with such unreasonable demands as the conditions of peace, as plainly showed they were not sincere in desiring it; and on Charles's refusal to comply, heralds from each, who had accompanied the envoys for the purpose, appeared in the emperor's presence, and formally declared war in the name of their respective sovereigns. Charles received the defiance of England proudly but with respect. But his reply to the king of France was so acrimonious, that Francis challenged him to single combat, and the challenge was accepted; but the time and circumstances for so important a duel were so difficult to decide that it never took place. While Charles and Francis were engaged in this personal quarrel, Lautrec besieged Naples, and the Imperialists were reduced to great extremities by famine, when they were relieved by the assistance of Andrea Doria, who having been ill used by the French had gone over to the service of the empire, and now forced Lautrec to raise the siege of that city.

Doria next sailed to Genoa, and driving out the French garrison, restored his country to its ancient freedom. His generosity and disinterestedness seemed to influence his fellow-citizens; a popular form of government was established, which lasted until the French revolution. The memory of Doria

is hallowed by his countrymen, who bestowed on him the most glorious of titles—THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY.

But the Spaniards murmured at a war of such unusual length, the burden of which lay principally upon them: and indeed all the princes were equally weary of the protracted hostilities which brought so little benefit to either party. It was therefore agreeable to all when the regent of France, Louisa of Savoy, and Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, undertook to bring about a peace. The pope had concluded a separate alliance, so that there remained only the interests of Charles and Francis to discuss. With the active good will of the two negotiators the terms of the peace of Cambray were soon agreed upon (August 15, 1529); but it was remarkable that Francis sacrificed all his allies without making the least provision in their behalf, while Charles most scrupulously stipulated for the rights and interest of every person who had been attached to him, by which conduct Charles gained while Francis lost ground in the esteem of all Europe.

The internal affairs of Germany now, however, required Charles's presence, and accordingly as soon as the peace was concluded, he resolved to visit the empire, and on his way to pass through Italy; for this purpose he embarked at Barcelona, where he had previously made his solemn entry as the representative of the ancient counts of that city, a ceremony which so ingratiated him with the

inhabitants that they received him with acclamations, and instantly took the oath of fealty to the infant don Philip. Charles left the regency of Spain to the empress Isabella, and proceeded to Genoa, where he was honourably received, and thence to Bologna, which city had been appointed for his interview with the pope. He there settled the affairs of the princes and states, which by the neglect of Francis now depended entirely on him, with singular moderation and equity.

Florence alone had to complain of his judgment. That city had recovered its freedom during the captivity of Clement VII., but instead of protecting it, the emperor now by force of arms compelled it to receive the Medici, its late tyrants, back again, to gratify the pope, who was a member of that powerful family. These affairs being settled, Clement performed the ceremony of crowning Charles as king of Lombardy and emperor of the Romans, with the usual solemnities, at Bologna, in the year 1530. The crown used on this occasion was brought from Monza, where it is kept among the venerable things that form the treasury of queen Theodelinda. It is a plain circle of gold set with uncut precious stones, of considerable size. Within the gold is another circle far more costly. It is beaten from half of one of the nails of the true cross, sent by St. Helena to her son Constantine. This circle lined his crown on the day of the battle of the Milvian

bridge. The next remarkable head which wore it was that of the Goth, Theoderic, who deposited it at Monza, as a kind of talisman, the possession of which was to confer the kingdom of Italy. Charlemagne next put it on, and he was followed by the emperor Otho, since whose time it had rested quietly in its sanctuary until now, when Charles V. caused it to be transported to Bologna, that he might with it assume the right to the dominion of Italy*.

Immediately after his coronation, Charles proceeded towards Germany, and was met at Inspruck by his brother, don Ferdinand, and several of the principal nobility, who accompanied him to Augsburg, where a full diet of the empire was already assembled to meet him. During his absence from Germany the reformers had made considerable progress. Several of the princes of the empire had embraced the new doctrines, and it was principally on account of their affairs that this diet had been called. It was here that the confession of faith, known as the confession of Augsburg, and drawn up by Philip Melancthon, was presented to the emperor, and though it was written in the mildest spirit, the diversity of the new and old churches was now so decidedly marked, and their differences so inveterately defended by their rival members, that it was impos-

* One more emperor has been crowned with it, Napoleon Buonaparte.

sible to reconcile them. Finding it impracticable to procure an accommodation, Charles resolved to endeavour to force a conformity with the established church, and by the advice of cardinal Campeggio, published a severe decree against the protestants, which had no other effect than to inflame them against their adversaries, and, in consequence, they formed the famous league of Smalkalde.

To secure himself against the effects of this combination, and also to defend the eastern frontiers of the empire from the attacks of the Turks, Charles resolved to procure his brother, Ferdinand, to be elected king of the Romans. This would, he flattered himself, also contribute to his design of rendering the Imperial crown hereditary in the house of Austria, and as Ferdinand had already been elected king of Hungary and Bohemia, his powers, and the position of those kingdoms between the empire and the enemy, rendered him the fittest of all the German princes to be intrusted with the guardianship of the frontier. The protestants, however, opposed this measure. They had felt the benefit of the emperor's absence in the uninterrupted progress they had been able to make during his stay in Spain, and they dreaded his leaving, during his occasional journeys into that country, a prince so bigoted and so active as Ferdinand; their opposition, however, was fruitless, and he was crowned at Aix la Chapelle, with the silver crown of Charlemagne, early in 1531.

Charles was, however, soon convinced of the imprudence of proceeding with too much severity against the protestants. The leaders of the union of Smalkalde had entered into negotiations with England and France, and as the emperor was in no condition to enter into an expensive war, he convoked a diet at Ratisbon, in which he made several concessions, and ratified the terms of pacification which had been proposed at Nuremberg a short time before. But the diet was hastily broken up by the intelligence that Solyman the Magnificent had entered Hungary at the head of three hundred thousand men.

The contingent each prince was to furnish for the defence of the empire was already settled. The protestants, to show their gratitude for the late favours, furnished even more than their quota; they were joined by a body of Spanish and Italian veterans under the marquis del Guasto. Some heavy armed cavalry had been raised in the Low Countries, and Ferdinand had levied troops in Bohemia and Austria. The whole army amounted to ninety thousand disciplined foot and thirty thousand horse, besides a vast swarm of irregulars. At the head of this great host Charles himself took the field, and Europe awaited with extraordinary interest the issue of the contest between the two most powerful monarchs in the world. But they both conducted the operations with such excessive caution, that the campaign was ended without any memorable event.

However, on the whole, it was favourable to Charles, as Solyman was obliged to retreat.

Charles was now impatient to return to Spain, and on his way thither proceeded to Bologna, where he had another conference with the pope, who was dissatisfied with his concessions to the protestants, and still more so at his requesting him to hold a general council for the pacification of the church; and accordingly, though he continued in appearance on the same cordial terms with the emperor as before, he was secretly negotiating with his enemies.

Francis in the mean while never meant to be longer bound by the treaty of Cambray, against which he had secretly protested, than necessity required; he therefore watched the first discontents between his rival and the pope, and to engage the latter in his interests he proposed the marriage of his second son, Henry duke of Orleans, with Catherine de Medici, the pope's cousin. Clement's eagerness to conclude so honourable an alliance induced him to flatter Francis by going in person to Marseilles to be present at the nuptials: they were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence, although the match was then thought as dishonourable to France as it afterwards proved pernicious. But the war with which Europe was threatened, in consequence of this alliance between the pope and the French king, was averted by the death of Clement, and the election of Alexander Farnese, who took the name of Paul III., in his place, in 1534.

From the conference with Clement at Bologna, Charles went first to Pavia, where he was curious to examine the field which had proved so fatal to the French, and thence to Milan, where Sforza entertained him with great splendour. He next proceeded to Genoa, where the Dorias lodged him in their sumptuous palace, and where he embarked for Spain. He shortly arrived at Barcelona, where the empress and the grandees met and welcomed him, and accompanied him into Castile. There he found letters and messengers acquainting him with the distress of several Christian ports in the Levant and other parts of the Mediterranean, who were oppressed by the Turks and by Hayradin Barbarossa*, who had entered into the service of Solyman, animated with equal hatred against the Christian name. Muley Hassan, the king of Tunis, who had been dethroned by Barbarossa, also applied to Charles for protection, and a war against the Moors in any country was always popular in Spain. It was not long therefore before the emperor was enabled to lead a very powerful armament to the African coast. A Flemish fleet carried a body of German infantry, the Spanish army of Italy was conveyed in galleys from Naples and Sicily. The emperor himself, accompanied by the principal grandees of Spain, sailed from Barcelona. A squadron from Portugal was commanded

* The brother and successor of Horuc, who has been already mentioned.

by the infant don Luiz, the empress's brother. Andrea Doria joined the armament with his own eight galleys, the best appointed and officered of all; and the small squadron of Malta, manned by the knights, met Charles at the general rendezvous of Cagliari in Sardinia. Nearly five hundred vessels, having on board thirty thousand regular troops, reached Tunis in the month of July, and the troops immediately landed and laid siege to the Goletta, and in a few days took possession of that fortress and of the fleet which it protected, consisting of eighty-seven galleys and galliots, together with the arsenal, and three hundred brass cannon which were planted on the ramparts. As the emperor marched into the Goletta by the breach, he said to Muley Hassan, who was with him, "This is the gate by which you shall return to the possession of your kingdom." Shortly afterwards Barbarossa was defeated, and Tunis taken, when Muley Hassan was restored to his throne. Ten thousand Christian captives were released on that day in the city, and Charles conditioned with Muley Hassan for the liberty of all who should be found in any part of his dominions. Muley also agreed to do homage for his crown, and to admit Spanish garrisons into all the fortified sea-ports of Tunis.

By this expedition the emperor attained a greater height of glory than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thousand slaves, whom he had freed from bondage, each of whom he clothed and furnished

with the means of returning to his country, spread the fame of their benefactor's generosity all over Europe.

But the armament against Africa had entirely exhausted the treasury of Charles, and on his return he was unable to assist his brother-in-law, the duke of Savoy, who had been stripped by Francis I. of all his possessions, except Piedmont. But the death of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, occasioned a renewal of the war between Francis and the emperor on other grounds. Sforza had made a will, bequeathing his duchy to the emperor; Francis I., however, claimed it as a right which Sforza had no power to will away, and an angry negotiation took place. Meantime Charles was at Naples. Having visited Sicily on his way from Africa, he obtained from the states assembled there such a donative as enabled him to raise a large body of troops, after which he proceeded to Rome, where he made his public entry with great pomp; but the removal of the ruins of an old temple of peace to make way for the procession was regarded as an evil omen, portending the bloody war that ensued.

Charles, elated with his successes against Solyman in Hungary, and against the Moors of Africa, forgot his usual politic moderation, and in a harangue of some length, delivered before the French ambassadors, in the presence of the pope and cardinals, he inveighed bitterly against Francis, boasted of his own power, and challenged his rival to single

combat. The imperial army marched soon after towards Savoy and Piedmont, which the French troops occupied, and having driven them thence, Charles resolved to attack France itself, and accordingly invaded Provence in 1536. That kingdom was in the greatest danger; but the marechal de Montmorency, to whom the defence of that frontier had been intrusted, having formed his camp near Avignon, compelled all the inhabitants of the country to retire, either into some of the fortified places, to the mountains, or to his camp, and then, without remorse, destroyed all the houses. Corn, forage, and provisions of every kind were carried away; all the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up; and this havoc was carried on from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the sea to the borders of Dauphiné. The consequence of this harsh but salutary measure was, that after spending two months in desolate and exhausted fields, Charles was obliged to retire by famine and disease. During his retreat the French light troops, aided by the peasantry, hung upon his rear, and there is no species of misery which was not suffered by the retreating army. Nor was Charles more fortunate in the invasion of Picardy from the Low Countries.

The next year the parliament of Paris having declared the counties of Flanders and Artois to be forfeited by Charles, and re-united to France, the duke of Orleans, now dauphin, in consequence of the death of his brother, invaded the Low Coun-

tries; but the governess of the Netherlands*, and her sister, the queen of France, who had laboured to reconcile the two monarchs, having procured a suspension of arms for those countries, the war was confined to the operations in Piedmont; and shortly after the queen procured a truce for three months in that quarter also.

Meantime Solyman the Magnificent, who had concluded an alliance with Francis, had attacked the king of the Romans in Hungary, and had sent Barbarossa with a powerful fleet to ravage the coast of Naples, where he took several towns: but the arrival of Doria's fleet with the pope's galleys, and a squadron from Venice, obliged the corsairs to retire; though the alarm occasioned among all the Christian princes was such, that Francis, ashamed of his alliance with the infidels, agreed, at the earnest entreaty of the pope, to a truce of ten years. The venerable pontiff himself went, for that purpose, to Nice, where the emperor and king both met him, and each communicated with him separately, as they could not adjust the ceremonies for a personal interview. But shortly afterwards Charles, who had embarked for Barcelona, having been driven into the island of St. Margaret, on the coast of Provence, the two monarchs met at Aigues-morte, and there seemed to have forgotten all their

* The dowager queen of Hungary, the emperor's sister.

past enmity, and visited each other with every mark of trust and confidence.

The events of the next year proved how necessary this truce was to the interests of Charles. His troops had long been without pay, and as he was in no condition to satisfy their demands, they claimed a right to pay themselves, and in Sicily, the Milanese, and Africa, committed the greatest excesses; but by the address and prudence of his generals the insurrections were quelled, and great part of the troops paid and disbanded, such a number only being retained as was sufficient to guard the coasts from the attacks of the Turks and corsairs.

Charles's first act on returning to Spain was to assemble the cortes of the kingdom at Toledo, in order to obtain from them supplies for his present necessities, and to propose a general excise on all consumable commodities. But the Spaniards complained that their country was drained of its wealth and its inhabitants to maintain foreign wars; and the nobles in particular inveighed with great violence against the tax, as an encroachment on their privilege which exempted them from paying any. They contended that if Charles would imitate his prudent ancestors, and remain in Spain, the revenues of the crown, well managed, would suffice for all purposes without taxing the subjects. These remonstrances so offended the emperor, that he dismissed the assembly, and from that time

neither the nobles nor prelates have been called to the cortes, on pretence that such as paid no taxes ought to have no voice in laying them on. None were afterwards admitted but two representatives from each of the eighteen principal cities, and these formed an assembly very different indeed from the ancient cortes, and became the mere tools of the crown. Still the grandees possessed great privileges. One day as the emperor was returning from a tournament, one of the sergeants of the court, in his zeal to clear the way for the emperor, struck the duke del Infantado's horse with his baton, which so irritated him that he drew his sword, and beat and wounded the officer. Charles immediately ordered Ronquillo, the judge of the court, to arrest the duke; but as he was proceeding to execute the order, the constable of Castile interposed, claimed the right of jurisdiction over a grandee, and conducted del Infantado to his own apartment. All the nobles present, deserting the emperor, followed the constable to his house with applause, and Charles was left alone with the cardinal Tavera. He perceived by this the danger of overstraining his prerogative, and next morning sent to the duke, offering to inflict what punishment he pleased on the person who had offended him. Infantado expressed himself satisfied that this was a full reparation to his honour, forgave the officer, and presented him with a sum of money as a compensation for his wound.

But from the cares of domestic government in Spain, Charles was called to the Netherlands by a serious insurrection at Ghent, caused, like the opposition of the cortes in Spain, by the infliction of heavy taxes. His sister, the governess of the province, had represented that his presence alone could reduce the people to submission, and accordingly, after some deliberation, he solicited, and obtained permission from Francis to pass through his kingdom, for that purpose, promising at the same time to settle the affairs of the Milanese to the French king's satisfaction. Charles set out with a small train of about a hundred persons. He was met at Bayonne by the dauphin and his brother, who offered to go into Spain as hostages for his safety, but this he refused, and the princes accompanied him to Paris. Francis advanced as far as Chatelheraut to meet him; they proceeded together to Paris, and the two rival monarchs whose wars had disturbed Europe for twenty years now made their solemn entry together. Charles remained six days at Paris, and then proceeded to Ghent. The citizens sent out to meet him and implore his clemency, but he gave their ambassador no answer, but that he was coming among them as their sovereign, bearing the sceptre and the sword; and though he entered the place of his nativity on his birth-day, he does not appear to have been touched with any of the natural tenderness men feel for their country. Twenty-six

of the principal citizens were put to death, a number were banished, the privileges of the city were revoked, its revenues confiscated, its ancient form of government abolished, the nomination of its magistrates vested in the emperor, new laws were promulgated, and a hundred and fifty thousand florins were exacted, for the purpose of building a citadel to curb the spirit of the citizens, who were obliged to maintain the garrison at the annual expense of six thousand florins.

But when he had thus reduced his Flemish subjects, he thought of nothing less than of fulfilling his engagements with Francis, concerning Milan; and the king of France had the double pain of finding himself duped, and losing what he had so long been anxious to obtain.

Charles had no sooner re-established order in the Low Countries than he was called to Germany by the state of his affairs in that country. More than half Hungary had been wrested from his brother, the king of the Romans, by John Zapol Scœpus; and on his death leaving an infant son, his queen Isabella, daughter of Sigismond, king of Poland, and the bishop of Warradin, both persons of extraordinary qualities, determined to maintain the kingdom for the young king, for which purpose they renewed Scœpus's alliance with the Turks. But of this they soon repented, for Solyman seized the country for himself, and

exiled the queen and her son to Transylvania, which province he assigned to them. This diminution of the Austrian dominions, with the near approach of the Turks, added to the consideration of an inevitable war with France, induced the emperor to make concessions of great moment to the protestants, at the diet held at Ratisbon on this occasion, by which means he procured such liberal supplies of men and money as removed his anxiety concerning the present security of Germany.

He was eager also to attack the Ottomans in another quarter. Since Barbarossa had entered into the Turkish service, one of his officers, Hassan Aga, had governed Algiers, and had thence carried on a cruel war against the Christian states, with an activity that outdid that of Barbarossa himself. The commerce of the Mediterranean was disturbed, and the coast of Spain kept in such a continual state of alarm, that watch-towers were erected within short distances of each other, and a guard was kept constantly on foot to protect the inhabitants, on the approach of his squadrons. The emperor had prepared a great armament to attack Hassan Aga, in his own capital; 20,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 3000 volunteers, the flower of the Italian and Spanish nobles, besides a thousand soldiers from Malta led by a hundred of the most renowned knights. Hassan had only 800 Turks, and 5000 Moors, part of whom were exiles

from Grenada. This small force could not long have withstood the emperor's numbers and brave army. But on the second day after his landing, a violent storm of wind and rain rendered their camp, which was in a low situation, so wet, that the soldiers could not lie down, and as they had brought nothing but their arms ashore, they had no huts or shelter of any kind from the tempest. At every step they sunk up to the ankles in mud, and the wind blew with such violence, that they were obliged to stick their spears in the ground, and lean against them for support.

Hassan was too good a soldier not to profit by the distress of his enemy; about dawn he sallied out with soldiers fresh and vigorous; a body of Italians, weak and benumbed with cold, fled at their approach; the ammunition of the matchlockmen was mostly spoiled by the rain; and it required the approach of the emperor himself, with the greater part of the army, to repulse the attack of Hassan. But the remembrance of this danger was lost in the scene which daylight unfolded. The ships on which the army depended for their subsistence were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beating on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour, fifteen ships of war, a hundred and forty transports, with eight thousand men, perished; and such of the

crews as escaped the sea were murdered by the Arabs as soon as they reached the land. The emperor stood, in silent anguish and astonishment, beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the deep the stores he had provided for annoying the enemy, and for subsisting his own troops. The only assistance he could afford was to send some troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus deliver a few who were so fortunate as to get on shore. His hopes, on the falling of the wind, that as many ships would outlive the storm as might save the soldiers from perishing by famine, and convey them back to Europe, were cruelly cut off when the next morning Charles received a message from Doria, to say that he had been obliged to bear away with his shattered ships to Cape Metafuz for repair, and that, as the sky was still lowering, he advised the emperor to march with all speed to that place where the troops could re-embark.

The march to Metafuz, which was distant three days' journey, was disastrous in the extreme. The chief provisions were berries, roots, and the flesh of horses killed by the emperor's orders, and distributed to the different battalions. Many perished with hunger or disease, and more were killed by the Arabs, who, during the retreat, hovered about them, and harassed them day and night.

During these calamities, Charles displayed great firmness and spirit, and still greater humanity and compassion : he exposed his person wherever there was danger, visited and encouraged the sick, and when the troops embarked, he was the last to leave the shore. But his sufferings did not end even there : a new tempest arose, his vessels were scattered, he himself was driven into the port of Bugia, and was obliged by adverse winds to remain there several weeks, when he returned to Spain in a very different condition from that in which he had left it.

Francis I. thought this a favourable opportunity for renewing hostilities with the emperor, and accordingly, in 1542, he sent no less than five armies into the field, but the campaign ended without any remarkable occurrence. In order to prepare for the next, the Spaniards, exasperated at the sudden invasion of their country by the troops of Francis, granted liberal donatives to Charles ; he borrowed a large sum from John, king of Portugal, and, by way of security for payment, put him in possession of the Molucca islands ; he obtained a still larger sum from the same monarch as the dower of his daughter Mary, the wife of Philip, Charles's only son. The emperor next formed an alliance with the king of England, and Francis, on his side, renewed his league with Solyman ; but though the war began vigorously, it ended with the treaty of Crespy in 1544, the affairs of the protestants in Ger-

many now requiring all the emperor's attention*. The diet of Worms, the meeting of the council of Trent, the long wars with the elector of Saxony and other protestant princes, detained Charles in the north during the greater part of the remainder of his reign; while the infant don Philip acted as regent of Spain during his father's absence. This post, which he had filled since the death of the empress, had given him an opportunity for displaying such sagacity, prudence, and application, as had gained the affection of the Spaniards.

He was now a widower; Maria of Portugal, his wife, having died in childbed of the unfortunate prince afterwards known as don Carlos. He continued uninterruptedly in Spain until the year 1548, when the emperor, extremely anxious to secure for him, if possible, the succession to the whole of his dominions, sent for him into Flanders, that he might receive the oath of allegiance of the states. On Philip's arrival at Brussels, he went first to the cathedral to return thanks for his safe voyage, and afterwards to the palace, where his father was most anxiously waiting to receive him. After remaining there a few days, he accompanied his aunt, the queen of Hungary, to visit the principal cities of the Low Countries, and was every where received with cordiality. Yet he shortly

* However interesting this part of Charles's life may be, as it does not concern Spain, it is passed very lightly over.

disgusted the Flemings by his stiff and precise behaviour. He was always surrounded by Spaniards, and would use no language but the Castilian; he wore a Spanish dress, and would by no means conform to the Flemish customs.

These things, slight in themselves, made a strong impression against Philip; and when the States were called upon to take the oath of allegiance, they did it unwillingly, and stipulated that no foreigner should be employed in the government of the United Provinces.

Charles next endeavoured to prevail on his brother Ferdinand to renounce the dignity of king of the Romans, and the succession to the empire, in favour of Philip; and in order to soothe him in the disappointment such renunciation must cause, gave his daughter Maria in marriage to Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, whom he sent into Spain as regent during Philip's absence. But Ferdinand refused to gratify him, not being willing that the imperial crown, once within his reach, should be torn from him and his family. Philip, disappointed and soured, returned to Spain in 1550, and immediately assembled the cortes at Toledo, in order to raise supplies, and also to receive their oaths of fealty, as heir apparent to the throne.

He next called together the cortes of Arragon at Monzon; but the grandees would grant nothing beyond the customary donatives, and insisted on various privileges which Philip had endeavoured

to set aside. He had indeed occasion for money to raise troops and equip ships, for the purpose of opposing Dragut, a new corsair who had appeared, and who surpassed, if possible, the boldness of the two Barbarossas. He had attacked the Spanish islands, Sicily, and Naples, and had even beaten Doria in an action off the Bay of Naples. But some unexpected occurrence in Algiers recalled him thither before he had time to carry into execution his meditated attack on Naples itself, and thus saved the capital of Spanish Italy.

The death of Edward VI. king of England, in 1553, and the accession of his sister Mary to the crown, opened a new view to Charles's ambition. He immediately proposed a marriage between Mary and his son Philip, which, notwithstanding the dislike of her subjects to the alliance, was carried into effect. The queen was charmed with the connexion with the greatest monarch in Europe, and was pleased, besides, to draw closer her ties with her mother's family. Being a firm believer in the church of Rome, Philip's well-known bigotry was as pleasing to her as it was alarming to the English, who had very generally adopted the reformed religion. The house of commons remonstrated against the marriage, and many pamphlets appeared, pointing out its dangers; but Mary persisted in her acceptance, and the emperor having by large bribes secured the consent of her ministers, the treaty was concluded in 1554, and the

same year Philip repaired to England, where the marriage was solemnized with great magnificence. Philip only remained fourteen months in England; but during that time he had become more odious than even Mary was; for none doubted that the vigorous persecution of the protestants at that time was approved, if not suggested, by him.

While Charles was so much engaged in Germany that Spain had become almost a foreign country to him, the Spanish captains in the new world had been adding state after state, and kingdom after kingdom, to his dominions. Scarcely had the great empire of Mexico been subdued by Cortez, when a new and not less interesting country had been discovered and conquered to the south of Darien, and on the shores of the great Pacific ocean. From the time Nuniez Balboa had discovered that sea, numbers of adventurers flocked to Darien, in hopes of sharing in the wealth which was reported to be within twelve days journey to the southward: among these, three adventurers, Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque, distinguished themselves by their boldness and sagacity; and they entered into a partnership sanctioned by Pedrarius, governor of Panama, the object of which was to discover the rich country of which they had heard reports from the Indians.

After incredible dangers and difficulties, during the course of which Pizarro had been obliged once to go to Spain to solicit aid, and at another time

to remain five months on a desolate and unwholesome island, to await his two companions with reinforcements; they at length reached Tumbes, a place of some consequence three degrees south of the line, where they first feasted their eyes with the view of the opulence of the Peruvian empire. The great temple, and the splendid palace of the incas, the fully peopled country, the regular cultivation, the decent clothing, the domestic animals, especially the beasts of burthen, all struck the Spaniards with the utmost astonishment, but their attention was chiefly attracted by the quantities of gold and silver, used not merely for ornament, but for the utensils and vessels for common use.

At this time the empire of Peru extended from north to south, fifteen hundred miles along the shores of the Pacific. The traditions of the people relate, that they were civilized by strangers of a fairer colour and gentler manner than themselves, who taught them to build cities, weave garments, and till the soil. The capital of Peru was Cuzco; at the time of the discovery, Harana Capac was inca, or king, of Peru; shortly afterwards, his death gave occasion to a civil war between his sons, Huascar, and Atahualpa, which opened a field for the intrigues and interference of the Spaniards, and facilitated their conquest of the kingdom.

The novelty of the appearance of the Spaniards, the horses they rode, the coats of mail they wore, and above all their fire-arms, impressed the Pe-

ruvians with the idea that they were beings of a superior order, and they received them with the utmost hospitality; but they were repaid by the blackest ingratitude. Pizarro seized the person of the inca Atahualpa, and demanded as ransom a quantity of gold, which was eagerly contributed to the amount of a million and a half ounces; but instead of releasing him he kept him for some time a close prisoner, and at length put him to death on the most scandalous pretences, after which Pizarro marched to Cuzco and took possession of it in 1533. Meanwhile Benalcazor, one of Pizarro's officers, had seized upon Quito, and shortly afterwards Almagro, another of the company, with incredible pains discovered the road across the desert of Atacama, to Chile, in the very year in which Ferdinand Pizarro conveyed to Spain the news of his brother's success in Peru, and the fifth, reserved for the king, of the booty he had taken. Ferdinand was rewarded, for his good tidings, with the knighthood of Santiago, and returned to Peru accompanied by many persons of distinction, who joined Francis Pizarro's army, allured by the promise of immense riches. Pizarro himself, though so illiterate as not to be able to read, had done every thing calculated to promote the prosperity of the country, considered as a colony of Spain. He had divided it into districts, appointed magistrates, regulated the revenue, and

above all had attended to the treatment of the Indians; a great merit, considering that they were every where treated as slaves by the Europeans, and in many places barbarously used. Cuzco and Quito, the ancient capitals, were both too far from the sea, and too remote from each other, for the purposes of colonial government, or of commerce; Pizarro therefore laid the foundations of a new city, which he called *De los Reyes*, now Lima, on the borders of the little river Rimac, which waters a fertile valley of the same name, and within eight miles of the port of Callao.

But these conquests and settlements were not made without some opposition; many an insurrection took place in Peru for the sake of the incas; in Chile, the tribes on the borders of the river Maypu first disputed the progress of the Spaniards. Farther to the south, the natives of Arauca began that desperate warfare in defence of their liberties, which even yet is not ended. Nor were these the chief ills Pizarro had to contend with. A civil war between him and Almagro took place, which raged with as much violence, as if they had no enemy to be witness of their contests. Almagro was executed: but others as brave and adventurous, but more fortunate, succeeded him. Valdivia reached the southern part of Chile, and even Chiloe. Gonzalo Pizarro crossed the Andes and reached the wilds of Paraguay, and one of his

company, the daring Orellana, sailed down the river of the Amazons, and reached the ocean through forests and wilds, through some of which no second adventurer has yet followed him.

In the year 1541, Pizarro was assassinated. No man perhaps ever equalled him in enterprise, constancy under misfortune, or fertility in expedients. But his memory can never be cleared from the imputations of ingratitude, cruelty, and fraud, in his conduct towards the Peruvians.

Charles, when the details of the affairs in Peru reached him, was naturally shocked at the accounts of the cruelties practised there, as well as in other parts of the New World. He therefore attempted to reform the colonial government, and framed a body of laws for the protection of the Indians, appointing courts of judicature, called *royal audiencias*, throughout the country, and forbidding the slavery of the Indians. He sent viceroys to Mexico and Peru, whose peculiar province it was to protect the Indians, and keep the unruly foreign troops in order. But nothing could soothe the angry passions or check the furious contests of the Pizarros and their opponents; many of them fell by each other's hands; and it was not until ten years afterwards, that men less enterprising, less desperate, and more peaceable and industrious, settled in Peru, and the royal authority was established as firmly as in the other colonies.

But an event was now about to take place, which

is one of the most singular in history. Charles I., king of Spain, the fifth emperor of the West of that name, king of Naples and Sicily, sovereign of Flanders, of Milan, and of all the newly discovered world in the West, resolved to resign his crown, and to retire from the world in the midst of his prosperity.

Historians have accounted differently for this resolution. Some ascribe it entirely to the approach of bodily and mental decay, though only in his fifty-sixth year, brought on by long and repeated fits of gout, and that he felt it decent to retreat before his infirmities became too apparent. Others relate, that the emperor having resigned the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan, to his son, on his marriage with Mary of England, Philip removed all his ministers, and replaced them with creatures of his own, that he openly pretended to the government of the Low Countries, and on every occasion thwarted his father, and behaved to him with haughtiness, or with inattention; and that Charles finding that he must, on all occasions, either openly contend with his son or yield to him, took the resolution of resigning his crowns, and retiring from the world.

The death of Juanna, Charles's mother, removed the great obstacle to this resignation. She had been near fifty years in confinement, and still laboured under the same mental disease that seized her on her husband's death; yet the Spaniards

were so attached to her, that they would probably have scrupled to acknowledge Philip, unless they could have obtained her consent, which there was little hope of doing.

The throne of the Netherlands was the first from which Charles descended. He called Philip out of England, where the ill temper of Mary rendered him very unhappy. Having assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels, on the 25th of October, 1555, he seated himself for the last time in the chair of state, on one side of which was placed his son, and on the other his sister, the queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands; the princes of the empire and the grandees of Spain were behind him. The president of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in a few words his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the states, and then read the instrument of resignation, absolving his subjects in the Low Countries from their oath of allegiance to him, and requiring them to transfer it to Philip his lawful heir.

Charles then rose, and leaning on the prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he read from a paper in his hand, with dignity but without ostentation, an account of all the great things he had undertaken and performed since the beginning of his administration. He observed that from the seventeenth year of his age he had been devoted to public objects; that either in

peace or war he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, England twice, Africa as often, the Low Countries ten times, and had made eleven voyages by sea. He represented his age and infirmities, implored their forgiveness if during his long reign he had neglected or injured any of his subjects; thanked them for their fidelity and attachment, and assured them he should carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat as his sweetest consolation, as well as the best reward for his services, and in his last prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his most earnest petitions for their welfare.

Then turning to Philip, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand, he recommended his subjects to him, and advised him as to his future conduct with earnest tenderness. During the emperor's discourse the audience had melted into tears, some from admiration of his magnanimity, some from his expressions of tenderness to his son and to his subjects; all were affected with sorrow at losing a prince who had been born among them, and whose manners, formed upon theirs, had always been kind and affectionate towards them.

Philip on rising from his knees thanked his father for his royal gift, and regretted that he could not speak in Flemish to the states there assembled, but entreated them to permit cardinal Granvelle, bishop of Arras, to deliver what he had given him in charge to say in his name. Maës, a lawyer of eloquence,

answered in the name of the states, with large professions of fidelity and affection for their new sovereign. Then Mary, queen dowager of Hungary, resigned the regency, which she had exercised five and twenty years. Next day, Philip, in the presence of the states, took the usual oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of his subjects, and all the members in their own name and that of their constituents swore allegiance to him.

A few weeks afterwards Charles, in like manner, resigned the crown of Spain to his son; his act of abdication is dated 16th January, 1556, but it was not published till February, and Philip was not proclaimed king of Castile till the 24th of March following. On the 7th of September in the same year, he sent the imperial ornaments to his brother Ferdinand, and then embarked at Flushing with his two sisters, the dowager queens of France and Hungary, for Spain. He declined a pressing invitation from the queen of England that he would land in some part of her dominions, saying, "It could not be agreeable to a queen to receive a visit from a father-in-law who is now nothing more than a private gentleman."

His voyage was prosperous, and he arrived at Laredo, in Biscay, the eleventh day from that of his departure, and thence proceeded to Burgos in a horse-litter. Some of the grandees repaired to Burgos to pay their court; but they were so few that Charles observed it, and felt that he was no

longer a monarch. But he was more sensibly mortified at the ingratitude of his son, who forced him to wait some weeks at Burgos for the first moiety of that small pension he had reserved for himself out of the revenues of so many kingdoms. At last the money was paid; and Charles having dismissed a great number of his domestics, proceeded to Valladolid, where he took leave of his sisters. From thence he continued his journey to Plazencia, in Estremadura. He had passed through the place many years before, and having been struck with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justus, he observed to his attendants, that it was a spot to which Dioclesian might have retired with pleasure. The impression remained so strong on his mind, that he fixed on it as the place for his own retreat. He had added six rooms to the convent for his own use, on a level with the ground; four were in the form of friars' cells with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. One room opened to the garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan; the other communicated with the chapel of the monastery. Into this humble retreat did Charles enter, with twelve domestics, on the 24th of February, 1557. His table was plain: the mildness of the climate, the bodily and mental rest he enjoyed, at first mitigated the pains he had so long endured, and he sometimes employed

himself in cultivating his garden, sometimes rode to a neighbouring grove on a pony, the only one he kept. At other times he admitted some of the neighbouring gentlemen to familiar conversation, or studied mechanics, and employed himself, in company with the celebrated Torriano, in framing models of machines, and making experiments as to their effects. He was particularly curious with regard to the framing of watches and clocks, and having found that he could not make any two go exactly alike, he reflected on his own folly in having attempted to force mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment as to religion. A considerable portion of his time was allotted to devotion, and this habit grew more and more on him, especially after a most severe attack of gout, which left him in a state of mental and bodily weakness from which he never recovered. From that time his private penances were painful, and in public he chose to go through the ceremony of his funeral; he following the procession in his shroud, and joining in the prayers offered up for the repose of his soul. A few days after this solemnity, he died, on the 21st September, 1558, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Charles was a statesman and a warrior. He possessed, above all princes, the knowledge of men, and the art of adapting their talents to his own purposes. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals, rewarded them with munificence, and never discovered the least jea-

lousy of their reputation or their power; and almost all of them may be placed on a level with the most illustrious captains of any age. Charles's talents were indeed extraordinary; but his ambition was unbounded, and he scrupled not at deceit or fraud in order to accomplish his designs. Of his sisters, Maria, queen of Hungary, died twenty days after him; and Leonor, queen of France, six months before him. He had by his wife, Isabella of Portugal, three children:—Philip, who succeeded him; Maria, married to the archduke Maximilian; and Joanna, who married John, king of Portugal. He had besides Margaret of Austria, duchess of Parma, a woman of great talent, and the celebrated don John of Austria.



Tower in the ruins of an ancient city discovered near Palenque.

The reign of Charles V. of Spain begins the most glorious period of Spanish literature. The first promoters of the change that took place in the taste of the Castilians were, Juan Boscan, Garcilasso de la Vega, the great don Diego de Mendoza, Gutierrez de Cetina, and don Luis de Haro. Boscan attempted to introduce the Italian metre at the persuasion of Navagero, the Venetian ambassador at the court of Charles, and he happily succeeded. He also translated a fable from Musæus, and a tragedy of Euripides, and having travelled in Germany and Italy, he brought home with him knowledge and taste of great use to the literature of the country.

The great don Diego de Mendoza was a poet, a soldier, and a statesman. He was the son of don Ignacio Lopes de Mendoza, marquis of Mondejar, and was born in Grenada about the year 1500, and educated at Salamanca. He was a commander of the order of Alcantara, counsellor of state to Charles, and his ambassador at Venice, at Rome, and at the council of Trent, where he made a conspicuous figure. While a student at Salamanca, he wrote the *Life of Lazarilla de Tormes*, which was soon translated into Italian and English. He excels as a historian in his *Civil Wars of Grenada*, of which he speaks as a contemporary. The praises bestowed on this work by the best critics are very great, though doubtless deserved, for beauty of style and noble sentiment, as well as for correctness and temper.

He bequeathed his fine library to Philip, and it now forms part of the collection of the Escorial.

Garcilasso de la Vega was born at Toledo in 1503; he was a soldier and a poet. He was wounded in the face at the siege of Tunis, and killed at the storming of Frejus, at the age of thirty-three. He is commonly called the *prince* of Spanish poets, having brought the Castilian tongue to its utmost perfection. Hernandez distinguished himself by his translation of the 1st and 4th eclogues and the *Æneis* of Virgil; and Juan de Guzman translated the *Georgics*.

Lope de Rueda, a celebrated actor, now began to give some form to the Spanish stage, being a principal performer in his own pieces, which were published after his death by Juan Timoneda.

Yet there were in this reign severe checks on literature: the list of prohibited books drawn up by different inquisitors to prevent the dissemination of protestant doctrines was the first and greatest; the decree of the council of the Indies, that no work concerning America should be published without first obtaining a licence was another; and, strange to say, books of medicine were to be seized, whether on the forbidden lists or not, because the Jews and Moors were the chief writers on medical subjects.

The fine arts, which had already begun to flourish in Spain, made a rapid progress during this reign. Cardinal Ximenes, though austere in his habits,

and discouraging any art of mere luxury, yet fostered the sculpture and painting which could adorn religious edifices. The excellent painters, Villoldo, John of Brussels, and Amberes, were patronized and employed by him, especially in the chapel built by him in Toledo, and consecrated to the Musarabic form of worship. Gonzalo de Cordova, at his desire, stained the glass of the windows of the cathedral of Toledo. There is a list of no less than fifty-three sculptors employed in decorating the same building, and upwards of twenty in the church at Seville. But if there had been nothing done in art, the visit of Titian to that country in 1535 must have awakened it. He had painted Charles V. at Bologna twice; the first time on his coronation, the second time on his return to Spain from his expedition into Hungary. On that occasion he made portraits of Antonio de Leyva, the cardinal Hippolitus de Medici, and of the marquis del Guasto. On his arrival in Spain he painted Charles for the third time, and also donna Maria of Portugal, the wife of the infant don Philip. Of upwards of fifty native Spanish painters our imperfect acquaintance with the state of art in Spain prevents us from naming more than Beruguete, the Villoldos, Yanez, Herrera and Rubiales. Of those born in other parts of Charles's dominions, and who made Spain their residence, Antonio More is certainly the very first; few painters of any nation have excelled him in portraits. He was sent into England to paint the

portrait of queen Mary, having previously painted Mary of Portugal, Philip's first wife. He was chiefly patronized by cardinal Granvelle and the duke of Alva. More's best works were burned in the Pardo palace. The demand for painters was now daily increasing; the piety of the Spaniards, instead of cooling, now that they had no longer the Moors to oppose them, seemed to become more intense; more ornaments for churches, more devotional pictures were called for; and vanity, which has always delighted in individual portraits, was not less alive in Spain than elsewhere: hence, next to the artists employed to decorate churches, the portrait-painters received most encouragement, and these are accordingly the departments of art in which the Spaniards of that period excelled.

Learning received as great encouragement in Spain as in the rest of Europe. The greatest captains, the most dignified nobles, cultivated it in various branches; but as the terrors of the churchmen were gradually excited by the progress of the reformation, it became dangerous to any laymen but such as were of the very highest class.

The sciences connected with navigation were, of course, pursued ardently by the nation at this period of discovery. The geography of the earth had been more fully developed by the Spaniards than by any other nation. The circumnavigation of the globe was an event of the greatest interest, and many facts of importance concerning the astronomical

phenomena were discovered or confirmed by the adventurers of Spain.

With regard to the great country discovered by Columbus, we may remark, that the Mexicans and Peruvians were those that had advanced the farthest towards civilization. The Mexicans had a regular government, and a fixed national religion, which required human sacrifices, under a savage priesthood. They possessed a method of communicating with each other at a distance, and recording events by pictures on cloth, which appear to approach very much to some of the hieroglyphics in principle, though not in form. They had a system of police. Their clothing was sufficient for the climate, and they cultivated some sorts of grain and fruits. Their neighbours of Florida, less advanced in the arts of government, had a simpler religion, which demanded no sacrifice. They had towns of some extent, but each family had a kind of independent settlement to itself, where the chief dwelt in the centre, and the inferior and younger branches in separate houses around him. They cultivated maize in a very advantageous manner, and had abundance of fruit and vegetables.

The Peruvians were more polished than the Mexicans: their religion was less sanguinary; their government more favourable to the people. The ancient public works of the Peruvians were magnificent and useful; there were excellent highways carried over mountains or morasses, furnished with

fountains and with resting-places, aqueducts for the irrigation of fields and gardens, and drains to carry off superfluous waters. They had a method of preserving the history of the country, and of communicating with each other at a distance by means of quipos, or coloured threads, knotted at intervals to signify different sounds. They had subdued the lama and vicunha, large animals of the sheep kind, and rendered them useful as beasts of burden, while from their fleeces they wove soft and elegant stuffs. They cultivated several sorts of maize, and were even more skilful than the Mexicans in gardening. They also surpassed them in the excellence and beauty of their earthen ware. Although ignorant of the potter's wheel, the forms of their jars was very elegant, and the various patterns scored on them displayed considerable taste. Those used for funeral purposes were the most laboured. Many persons of distinction were buried in a sitting posture within these urns, and with them were water-jars and other utensils. The Peruvians and Chilians both knew how to prepare an intoxicating liquor from the seeds of certain aromatic trees; they were both believers in witchcraft, and both were accustomed to float themselves and their goods down the rivers on balsas, sometimes made of a kind of light wood, sometimes of the skins of seals inflated.

The mountaineers to the south of Chile were of a quick and cheerful disposition, extremely brave

and free; professing a simpler worship even than Peru, but also addressed to the sun and other heavenly bodies. Their clothing consisted of woollen cloth dyed with the herbs of their mountains, and often wrought with beautiful figures. They were the first tribe to adopt the use of the horse from the Spaniards, and their climate has been so favourable to that noble animal, that in the very remotest places it is now in use among the native Chilians.



Donna Isabella, wife of Charles V.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP II. 1556, TO HIS
DEATH, 1598.



Kennava of Haerlem.

WHEN Philip succeeded to the throne of Spain on his father's resignation, he inherited also the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the duchy of Milan, Franche Comté, and the Netherlands; besides Tunis, Oran, and the Canaries and Cape de Verd islands in Africa; in America, Mexico, Peru, Chile, and the new islands; and in Asia, the Philippine,

Sunda, and Molucca isles. With such sources of wealth, with a numerous fleet and a veteran army, commanded by some of the ablest generals in Europe, he could not fail to be considered as the most powerful of its monarchs. His character too, severe, ambitious, and determined, with great sagacity and talent, inured to business, and practised in affairs, was such as to awaken the jealousy of his neighbours.

The emperor Charles had the satisfaction before he quitted Brussels to retire for ever from the world, of seeing the truce of Vaucelles concluded between Philip and Henry III. of France. But when the pope, Paul IV., learned that event, he upbraided the French ministers with breach of faith towards him, and behaved with such violence towards Philip, and towards his ambassadors in Rome, that although the king's reverence for the holy see kept him long from any retort, he was at length provoked into allowing the duke of Alva, then viceroy of Naples, to advance into the papal territories, where he soon took possession of most of the towns in the Campagna, and his light troops often made excursions even to the gates of Rome. The king of France, overawed by cardinal Caraffa, the pope's nephew, broke the truce of Vaucelles, and sent the duke of Guise with succours, both of men and money, to the assistance of the pope; but Alva's conduct completely baffled the skill of the French general, whose vexation was extreme at

the ill success of his arms. He was, however, soon recalled to France to defend its northern frontier; for as Henry had broken the truce, Philip had assembled a powerful army in the Netherlands, which he placed under the command of Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and to this force eight thousand English, under the earl of Pembroke, were soon added by queen Mary, who, against the advice of her council, declared war with France, at the entreaty of her husband. The first enterprise of the duke of Savoy was the siege of St. Quentin, in Picardy, a place of the greatest importance, as there were few fortified towns between it and Paris. The admiral Coligny, who had thrown himself into the place with such forces as he could collect on a sudden, defended it with the utmost bravery; the constable Montmorency, his uncle, endeavoured to relieve it; but, advancing too near to retreat with safety, the duke of Savoy took advantage of his error, and sent his cavalry, under the count D'Egmont, to fall on their rear, while he himself followed with the infantry. The retreat of the French, which had first been in perfect order, soon became tumultuous; D'Egmont gained upon them. The two armies were soon engaged in a general battle, in which the French were totally defeated, with the loss of four thousand killed, among whom were the duc D'Enghien and six hundred gentlemen. The constable Montmorency, the dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, the mareschal St. André, many

officers of distinction, three hundred gentlemen, and four thousand private soldiers were taken prisoners. All the colours, all the ammunition, and all the cannon but two, fell into the hands of the Flemings, while they did not lose above fourscore men. Such was the famous battle of St. Quentin, where for the only time in his life Philip II. put on a coat of mail. When the duke of Savoy approached him after the fight, and was kneeling to kiss his hands, the king caught him in his arms, and said, "It becomes me rather to kiss your hands, which have gained me such a glorious and almost bloodless victory."

This battle filled all France with dismay. It reminded the king and court of those of Cressy and Agincourt; and such was the panic, that if Philip had then permitted his generals to march on to the capital, they might have taken it almost without opposition. But he decided on prosecuting the siege of St. Quentin, which Coligny held out seventeen days longer, and thus afforded time for Henry to call upon his subjects to defend themselves and him. The city of Paris granted a free gift of 300,000 livres; the other towns contributed in proportion; the nobility garrisoned and provisioned several frontier towns at their own expense; in short, each individual exerted himself as if the safety of his country had depended on his personal efforts, and Philip gained very little by one of the greatest victories that had ever been achieved.

He continued, however, in high spirits on account of his success, which happened on the day of St. Lawrence, and made a vow to raise a church and monastery, and a palace, in memory of the day and in honour of the saint. The Escorial, in which all three are united, was built in fulfilment of his vow, and was begun before the end of that year.

It was after the battle of St. Quentin that the duke of Guise was recalled from Italy. The pope, now deprived of the assistance of the French, sought a reconciliation with Philip, who most eagerly seized the opportunity of making peace with his spiritual father; and to accomplish that end he made concessions which appear inconceivable, but which arose from the veneration of the king of Spain for the holy see, and from his scrupulous desires to be at peace with it.

In order to maintain his friendship with Rome, Philip restored Placentia to Octavio Farnese, from whom his father had taken it, and granted the investiture of Sienna to Cosmo de Medici. By these treaties, however, whatever might be the motive, the balance of power among the Italian states was rendered less variable than it had been since the invasion of Charles VIII. of France, and Italy ceased to be the theatre on which the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany contended for power or fame.

On the same day on which the duke of Alva began his negotiation with the pope, the duke of Guise set out on his return to France, where his

arrival seemed suddenly to turn the tide of affairs. His first exploit was the taking of Calais, which was ill fitted to sustain a long siege. It was the only place still retained by England of her ancient territories in France, and had been the trophy of the battle of Cressy. It now fell into Guise's hands: the English inhabitants were banished, and the French from all parts were bribed by immunities of various kinds to settle there, so that it has never again changed its masters.

Two other events occurred which distressed and displeased Philip. The pope refused to acknowledge his uncle Ferdinand as emperor, on the ground that it was the privilege of the holy see to nominate the head of the empire, and that, moreover, Ferdinand had been chosen by a diet among whose members were several protestant electors. Philip remonstrated in vain against these unreasonable pleas; but during the pontificate of Paul, Ferdinand was never acknowledged by the court of Rome.

The other event unfavourable to Philip's interest was the marriage of the dauphin Francis, with Mary queen of Scots, whose beauty and accomplishments were the theme of every tongue, and whose rank and power, as the sovereign of an independent people, formed a great accession to the strength of France. The opening of the campaign of 1558 was, on the whole, favourable to Philip, for though Guise took Thionville in Lux-

emburg, the French were defeated at Gravelines by D'Egmont, assisted by some English ships of war which entered the Aa, and fired on their right wing till they fled.

Both kings now became desirous of peace, and the plenipotentiaries of England, Spain, and France met at Cercamp to deliberate upon terms. The negotiation was for a moment suspended by the death of queen Mary, but her successor Elizabeth renewed the full powers of her commissioners, and at length in February, 1559, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded between the three powers. By it, the duke of Savoy on marrying Margaret of France, Henry's sister, was to be reinstated in his possessions of Piedmont and Savoy. And it was settled, that Philip should marry the princess Elizabeth, Henry's daughter, instead of his son don Carlos, to whom she had been promised, and that the king of France should give up to him, or his allies, the places he possessed in Italy. The pope, the emperor, the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, Poland, and Scotland, were comprehended as the allies of one party or the other, and thus tranquillity was re-established all over Europe.

Philip now became anxious to return to Spain, from whence he had been so long absent; but it was first necessary to settle the affairs of the Low Countries. Philip's strong and sincere attachment to the church of Rome caused him to see with

great pain the progress that the reformed religion was making in Flanders. To arrest it, Charles V. had projected the erection of several new bishoprics, trusting that the multiplication of pastors would keep the flock more secure. Philip carried this design into effect, and not only appointed four new bishops, but increased the number of clergy generally, and formed courts for the examination of heretics, almost as vexatious as those of the inquisition itself. The new bishops, who were to have the superintendence of these courts, were considered as so many inquisitors, and thus the first seeds of distrust and disaffection were sown.

The choice of a governor on whom Philip could depend, especially in the matter of enforcing uniformity of faith, embarrassed him. As long as he himself remained in the country, Emanuel Philibert enjoyed that honour. But the office was now to be really exercised, and Philip was apparently undecided in his choice. Count Egmont was so popular among the Flemings, that had Philip attended to the wishes of the people, he would have bestowed the government on him; but that very popularity excited Philip's jealousy, and Egmont was appointed sub-governor of Flanders and Artois. William, prince of Orange, was, next to Egmont, the man most beloved by the people: he had been highly honoured and esteemed by Charles V., who had even in his boyhood remarked and cherished those talents and virtues for which he

was afterwards so remarkable : but had there been no other reason for rejecting him, Philip would have dreaded his inclining to the protestants, because his father had embraced their opinions. Christina of Denmark, duchess of Lorraine, who had been the chief negotiator in the late treaty of peace, was well known and highly esteemed by the Flemings, and as she was supported by the prince of Orange, who desired to marry her daughter, nothing would have been more agreeable than such a choice ; but besides the injury done to her claims by that very friendship of the prince, Philip justly considered that her dependence on France for great part of her estate was an insuperable objection. He therefore determined to commit the care of the Low Countries to his half sister Margaret, duchess of Parma. This princess had been brought up in the court of Brussels, first by Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles V., and after her death by Maria, queen of Hungary. She appeared to have inherited the talents and conduct of those two remarkable women. Her first husband was Alexander of Medicis, duke of Florence, who was assassinated in the first year of their marriage ; and Charles afterwards gave her to Octavius Farnese, duke of Parma, and nephew to Paul III. Her confessor had been the celebrated Ignatius Loyola, and therefore Philip felt he could trust her on the score of religion. On her appointment as gover-

ness of the Low Countries, her son Alexander was given to Philip, under pretence of receiving his education in his court, but in reality as a hostage for her fidelity.

She had no sooner arrived in Italy, than Philip assembled the states at Ghent, and cardinal Granvelle, who was to be the new governess's adviser and coadjutor, addressed them in the king's name, informing them of his resolution to go to Spain, presenting them to their new governess, and recommending peace, obedience, and uniformity of faith. The answer of the states was full of expressions of loyalty, but great discontent was expressed at the number of Spanish troops which Philip determined to leave in the Low Countries, and at the tribunals of inquisition already established, which appeared, as indeed they were, only the forerunners of the establishment of the holy office itself. The states, at the same time, intreated him to mitigate the severity of the edicts concerning the protestants; but on this head he was inexorable, and replied, "that he had much rather be no king at all, than have heretics for his subjects." With regard to the Spanish troops, though he would not remove them, he offered the command to the two popular nobles, the prince of Orange, and the count Egmont. But both declined the offer, declaring that the continuance of those forces in the country in time of peace was a violation of the constitution.

Cardinal Granvelle, bishop of Arras, archbishop of Mechlen, and metropolitan of the Netherlands, was the son of Granvelle, first private secretary, and afterwards minister to Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles V. He was eloquent, choleric, vain, and selfish; almost as great a bigot as the king, and little less severe. He was hated by the Flemings, and little loved by any class of men. To him and to Margaret Philip confided the government: Egmont was vice-governor of Flanders and Artois; William of Orange had Holland, Utrecht, Friesland, Zealand, and the county of Burgundy; and other persons of less note were intrusted with the other local governments.

Having thus disposed of the states, Philip sailed for Spain, and arrived in Biscay on the 29th of August, having narrowly escaped from a violent tempest. In his gratitude for the event, he vowed to dedicate his life to the extirpation of heresy, and the maintenance of the catholic religion. Accordingly, during the rest of his reign, his great capacity was directed to that end; and however we may reprobate the principles, or whatever disgust we may feel at the means he took to accomplish it, we must acknowledge that they were directed with consummate skill and extraordinary sagacity. During his absence in the Netherlands, the inquisitor general, Valdes, archbishop of Seville, had been indefatigable in opposing the progress of the doctrines of Luther.

The archbishop of Toledo, Caranza, had published a catechism in which too much of the scripture had been unfolded to the catéchumens; he had also confessed Charles V. on his deathbed; both these circumstances aroused the jealousy of Valdes, and having obtained Philip's permission, he seized and threw him into prison, where he was only saved from torture by the interposition of the pope. Several persons of note who had visited the freer countries of Europe had returned to Spain with an inclination to the new doctrines, and bringing with them the books of the Lutherans. These persons were immediately seized by Valdes, who, determined on intimidating the people, caused a solemn *auto da fé* to be celebrated at Valladolid, a few months before Philip's return from the Low Countries, at which the infant don Carlos, and the infanta Juanna, were present. Of the victims, some were distinguished for their nobility, some for their learning, and all for the purity of their lives.

At this *auto* donna Leonora de Vibero was accused after her death of Lutheranism; her body was dug up and burnt, her children were condemned to infamy, and her large estates confiscated, her house destroyed, and a pillar, recording her punishment, erected on the spot.

Doctor Augustin Casalla was first strangled, then burnt; his brother was burnt alive: both were priests.

Their sister was strangled and burnt: all these three persons on suspicion only.

Ocampo and Padilla, knights of the order of St. John, were burnt.

Four ladies were burnt because they confessed under torture.

Several other women, among whom was a nun, some knights of condition, and, in short, persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, were driven to the stake, or condemned to ignominious punishments for life.

The place appointed for the execution was surrounded with benches rising one above another, as in an amphitheatre, and they were filled with persons, some of whom might be there to take a last leave of their friends; but more, and we should hope most, from fear of the inquisitors, and not daring to absent themselves.

Don Carlos, then fourteen years old, was called upon, on this occasion, by the grand inquisitor, to take an oath that he would maintain the catholic faith; the same was required of his aunt, the princess Juanna, and all the spectators, after which the executions commenced.

But the prisons of the Inquisition still contained some of the most illustrious victims; and, on Philip's arrival, a new *auto de fé* was determined on as an offering of thankfulness to Heaven for his late escape from the tempest.

Thirteen persons were burnt alive, and many underwent other punishments in the presence of the

king, of his son, and sister, of Alexander Farnese, of the French ambassador, and the chief prelates; several grandees, and the countess of Rabadabia, besides some other ladies of distinction, were also present. The principal victim on this occasion was don Carlos de Seso, a nobleman of Verona, who had embraced and endeavoured to propagate the doctrines of Luther. As he passed the king on his way to the stake, he exhorted him to be merciful to his subjects, who had, in fact, done nothing worthy of death: "No," answered Philip, "I would carry firewood myself to burn my own son, if he were such as ye."

A similar scene was acted at Seville a few months before, where twenty-one persons of learning and piety, many of whom were of noble families, and at least one half women, were burned. The fate of one of these excited the greatest commiseration: donna Maria Bohorques was only twenty-one years of age; her beauty, innocence, rare talents, and accomplishments, interested even some of the inquisitors to attempt to save her, but in vain. Valdes was as pitiless as his master; and not content with the incredible number of Moors and Jews whom he cut off, he persecuted the protestants with such relentless rigour, that in the general terror the natural affections were sometimes forgotten, and the nearest relations betrayed each other; for to conceal the knowledge of heresy was as harshly punished as heresy itself.

The next great festival held by Philip was his own marriage with Elizabeth, or Isabel, daughter of Henry of France and Catherine de Medicis, a young princess of great beauty, and of amiable dispositions: she was accompanied to the frontier by her mother and some of her sisters, and beyond them by a deputation of the principal grandees to Guadalaxara, where Philip met her, and the marriage ceremony was performed on one of the last days of January, 1560.

The prudence and wisdom of the king, in his choice of the ministers he appointed to the various offices of state, and the care he took to be thoroughly acquainted with the characters of all to whom he committed the charge of any affair, whether in Spain or in any other part of his dominions, is dwelt on with praise by every Spanish historian. But from these domestic cares he was called to attend to the ravages committed by the Turkish corsairs on every part of the Mediterranean coast.

The corsair Dragut had recently made himself master of Tripoli, which he fortified in the strongest manner; and thence sallied out as often as the season would permit to seize the merchant vessels, or failing these, to ravage the coasts of Spain, Italy, or Sicily, and supply himself not only with stores and goods, but with Christian slaves. The grand-master of Malta, de la Valette, earnestly called on Philip to put an end to these depredations; he accordingly sent orders to the duke of Medina Celi,

governor of Sicily, and to Doria, to assemble forces for the purpose. The pope and the other princes of Italy contributed ships and men, and a fleet of upwards of a hundred sail was collected, on board of which were 14,000 men. But its only success was to take the little island and fort of Gelves, after which the whole armament was destroyed and dispersed by the Turkish fleet under Piali, Solyman's high-admiral, who took five thousand prisoners, and there were about a thousand men killed or drowned. Gelves, in spite of a brave defence by Alvaro de Sande, was soon retaken, and the pirates, under Hassan, the son of Barbarossa, laid siege to Oran and Massalquiver, two forts belonging to Spain, on the African coast. But after the siege had lasted three months, it was raised by don Francisco de Mendoza, with a considerable fleet of Spanish and Italian vessels. Pennon de Velez, the retreat of Cara Mustapha, another pirate, was next attacked by Mendoza, and carried, notwithstanding the nature of its situation, then deemed impregnable, and the commerce carried on through the straits of Gibraltar delivered from its worst foe. Solyman, who had long been incensed against the knights of Malta for their determined hostility to his subjects, now conceived an equal hatred against Philip, and resolved to attack them at once. He therefore issued orders to equip all the ships in his empire with the utmost celerity, and gave the command of the fleet to Piali, and of the land-

forces it was intended to convey, to Mustapha, one of his most experienced generals. This formidable armament was intended to proceed against Malta. De la Valette no sooner learnt its destination than he sent to implore Philip's assistance; he also communicated the intelligence to the pope and other Christian powers, calling on them for help now, if they would save the order from destruction.

But the Turkish fleet arrived before any succour could come; and De la Valette sustained, with his handful of knights, that siege which has rendered his name immortal. Dragut had joined Piali, and the Turkish force now amounted to 30,000 men. This prodigious force attacked the little fort of St. Elmo: it was weak, and contained but 130 knights; yet they held out two months; and when, at last, Mustapha forced his way in, he found not one unwounded, and but two or three alive! Mustapha caused their dead bodies to be marked with a cross, and tying them to planks, threw them into the sea, that the wind and tide might carry them to their companions in fort St. Angelo. The grand-master, provoked, for once forgot his humanity; he caused the Turkish prisoners to be murdered, and shot their heads from his largest cannon into the Turkish camp.

For two more months did De la Valette hold out. The Turks were nearly worn out by fatigue, and diminished one half by sickness. The landing of 6000 Spaniards decided the fate of the garrison,—

it was saved,—the Turks retired: and the new fortifications of La Valette still recal the worth of the grand-master, though his order is no more, and the island itself has passed into the hands of governors of a different faith.

Relieved from the danger of the Turks, Philip redoubled his zeal for the extirpation of heresy and the propagation of the Roman creed. In Naples Calvinism had made considerable progress, but he had rooted it out with fire and sword; his severe edicts against the Moors had caused some to rebel, and a greater number to emigrate; his subjects were thinned, but the uniformity of faith was nearer of attainment.

But though the Spaniards and Italians submitted to the inquisitorial tribunals, it was otherwise in the Netherlands. Margaret of Parma was more guided by the opinion of Granvelle, who possessed the entire confidence of the king, than by her own judgment, in the steps she took with regard to the government, and especially the treatment of the protestants. Every resolution was taken by them in private, and only announced to the council, not as a matter to be debated, but as already fixed. This, of course, gave umbrage to the Flemish nobles, and especially to the prince of Orange and the counts Egmont and Thorn, whose station and merits entitled them to a share in the administration. They consequently applied to

Philip to remove the cardinal, and, though reluctantly, he complied, but never forgave the application: and Granvelle's return to Spain gave him an opportunity, which he did not neglect, of representing the Flemings in the light most offensive to the king. The decrees of the council of Trent against the protestants had lately been published, and Philip resolved they should be implicitly obeyed in all his dominions; and though the prince of Orange remonstrated against enforcing them in Flanders, the governess caused them to be proclaimed, and the inquisitors proceeded against those who violated them. The discontents occasioned by this measure were so great, that Margaret thought it expedient to send count Egmont to Spain, to lay the true state of the country before the king. On his arrival there Philip received him so cordially, seemed so interested in his private concerns, and especially in the establishment of his daughters, that the count, flattered and deceived, believed the king was ready to adopt the mildest and most liberal measures, and on his return to Brussels his report of Philip's behaviour raised the hopes of the protestants to the highest pitch. But Philip had no intention of mitigating his severities, and it appeared that his flattering behaviour to Egmont had been chiefly for the purpose of exciting the suspicions of his own party, and the persecution of the protestants proceeded with more severity than ever.

At length the nobles resolved to remonstrate with the regent; they drew up a paper called the compromise, by which they agreed to support one another in preventing the establishment of the inquisition. Between three and four hundred entered Brussels, unarmed, in 1566, and went in a body to the regent, who received them, attended by the members of the council, and having listened to their petition, returned them an answer in writing, that she had no power to suspend the execution of the edicts, but that she would recommend moderation to the inquisitors until she could learn the king's pleasure.

She accordingly despatched the marquis of Mons and the baron of Montegrig to Spain, to lay the petition before the king; but this embassy was entirely fruitless, for Philip regarded them rather as men who had forced a disagreeable measure on his sister. In the meanwhile a report gained ground that the regent had consented to the public profession of the reformed religion. The protestant ministers began to preach, the people began to strip the churches of their images and ornaments. In Antwerp the catholics were insulted at mass; the towns-people broke violently into the great church, overturned the altars, broke the statues, and defaced the pictures; thence they rushed to the convents and monasteries, whence they drove the monks and nuns, and committed many other excesses, the authors of which were, for the most

part, the members of a sect called Gueuses, who made a profession of poverty and freedom.

The presence of the regent in Brussels did not entirely maintain order in that city, and she, at one time, thought of retiring, but was dissuaded by the prince of Orange and Horn and Egmont, who each repaired to his government, and by the most strenuous exertions succeeded in putting an end to the disorders and restoring peace; at the same time they were obliged to permit the meetings of the reformed church in the suburbs, and in some places within the towns themselves.

Philip was highly enraged at this concession. He resolved by force of arms to put down the protestants and establish the inquisition; and, at length, after some altercation with his council, in the year 1567, he sent the duke of Alva, as governor of the Low Countries, with an army of ten thousand men from Spain and Italy, to carry his measures into execution.

His arrival caused the greatest consternation. Many thousand persons left the Netherlands, and among the rest the prince of Orange, with his family and friends, retired to his estates of Nassau, in Germany. He would willingly have persuaded Egmont to join him, but he persisted in believing in Philip's expressions of personal regard, and remained to welcome Alva, to whom he presented two beautiful horses, in sign of his desire to be at peace with him. The prince as he left him said,

“ You are the bridge, Egmont, by which Alva will pass into the Netherlands, and as soon as he has passed he will break it down.”

The first act of Alva was to seize Egmont, and Horn, treacherously in his own palace, and throw them into prison ; and this arbitrary act increased the number of emigrations, so that upwards of 100,000 persons left the country. The duchess of Parma also, finding her situation irksome, withdrew ; to the grief of the people, who were attached to her personally, and who believed with reason that she had done much to soften Philip's harsh measures.

In the space of a few months after Alva's arrival, no fewer than eighteen hundred persons had suffered by the hands of the executioner. The protestants were tortured with the most cruel ingenuity ; they were burnt, or drowned, or racked, as the caprice of the soldiers, or the inquisitors directed, till the very council of Alva, sickening at the sufferings of their countrymen, withdrew, and out of the twelve members there were seldom above three present.

At length some of the catholic nobility sent a remonstrance to the king, intreating him to have mercy on his innocent subjects, and to remove the duke ; but the hope that Philip would listen to them was destroyed by the news that arrived about the same time from Spain.

Don Carlos, the eldest, and at that time the only son of Philip, a young prince of an impetuous temper, was an object both of dislike and jealousy to his father; and, by the most impartial accounts, seems to have inherited something of the weakness of intellect of his grandmother Juanna, and a temper of extraordinary violence. He was now affianced to his cousin, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian, but his marriage was put off from time to time; and the expectation he had formed of succeeding Margaret of Parma in the government of the Low Countries being cut off by the appointment of Alva, he gave way to all the violence of his nature, and is said to have attempted the duke's life when he came to take leave of him. He certainly had formed a plan of escaping from Spain, and taking refuge in the Low Countries; but whether with a design of joining the protestants in their opposition to Alva, is uncertain. Philip, however, on learning from the post-master of Madrid that he had ordered horses for a secret journey, went himself to his chamber by night, arrested him, dismissed his attendants, and caused him to be closely confined. His despair and strange actions while in prison confirm the suspicions of his insanity; his death, at the end of six months, is universally attributed to his father, and is generally thought to have been accomplished by poison. While his miserable ex-

istence lasted, all the grandees of Spain, and all the foreign ambassadors, and many towns, petitioned for his pardon, but Philip was deaf to their prayers. Carlos was sacrificed, and the death of the young queen shortly afterwards was also attributed to the king's inexorable passions*.

He, therefore, who hesitated not to sacrifice his own son, could not be expected to listen to the complaints of his distant subjects, and nothing remained for them but to take arms against the duke of Alva.

He had cited the prince of Orange to appear before his tribunal, and on his refusal to trust himself, he had confiscated the estates of his family, and seized his eldest son, a boy of thirteen, then a student at Louvaine, and sent him as a hostage to Spain. These and other causes at last incited the prince to raise forces and invade the Netherlands. The protestant princes of Germany assisted him,

* Such was the representation of this tragical history in the Netherlands, where all were eager to believe any thing to the disadvantage of Philip. But it appears from authentic documents that Carlos was really insane, that his father confined him, but that his keepers were grandees of Spain, and that he was honourably served. He had been condemned to death for conspiring against his father's life. But his miserable health prevented even the notification of the sentence, and he died of dysentery. When Philip heard that he was dying he went to his room, but fearful of disturbing him, he stood behind two of the attendants, and putting out his hands between them he forgave and blessed his son with tears.

Elizabeth of England countenanced him, and sheltered the emigrants, and the French protestants were well disposed towards his cause. His first success was so alarming to the duke of Alva, that he resolved to take the field himself against him ; but ere he did so he thought fit to put to death several of the gentlemen whom he had arrested on his arrival : at the head of these were the counts Egmont and Horn ; they were reserved to the last. Eighteen others had been executed, and among them Egmont's secretary, who had in vain been put to the rack to obtain his master's secrets, when they were brought to trial and of course condemned. They were beheaded on the 5th June, 1568 ; and at Madrid Montigny, Horn's brother, was put to death at the same time *. The indignation of the Flemings became unbounded ; but as yet matters were not ripe for the entire recovery of their liberty, yet one effort was made towards it. The first campaign of the prince of Orange, though not very successful, was yet an earnest of what he might hereafter achieve, and also afforded an indication of the feelings that animated the people of the Netherlands. Yet the duke of Alva was so elated at having forced him to retire beyond the frontier, that he entered Brussels in triumph, and caused a trophy

* They were believed to have entered into a conspiracy with don Carlos to seize the Netherlands, drive out the Spanish governor, and set up an independent state.

to be cast of the guns he had taken in the fight at Gerningham, from Louis the prince's brother *, and erected in the citadel of Antwerp, which Philip afterwards caused to be removed.

This campaign had exhausted Alva's treasury, and he accordingly attempted to lay a new tax on the people, which they resisted. And at the same time queen Elizabeth of England, by stopping a loan that Alva had contracted for with the merchants of Italy, afforded a real assistance to the protestants.

The duke therefore continued to press the taxes, notwithstanding the calamity which had lately befallen the state by an inundation, which had drowned the greater part of Friesland, and reduced multitudes to the greatest distress. The people of Brussels took up arms to resist; Alva seized and hanged some of the chief citizens, and was about to execute others, when he was surprised by the intelligence that the Gueuses, under count la March, William of Treslong, and other gentlemen, had attacked the Brill by sea and had carried it. All Holland and great part of Zealand now openly rose against the duke of Alva's government, and from this date, 1571, the rise of the republic of the united provinces must be dated. The Spaniards immediately marched under Frederic of Toledo, the son of Alva, into Holland, to endeavour to recover the country;

* It was cast by Jockeling.

but the siege of Haarlem alone cost them half their army. The place was defended by the citizens and their wives, the latter of whom, under a woman named Kennava, formed themselves into a regiment, and performed all the duties of regular troops. When at last the place was taken, the treachery and cruelties of Alva and his son were such as to sharpen the resentment of all the Netherlanders, and to lower the Spaniards still more than ever in their reputation.

Philip had intended to remove Alva and to bestow the government of the Low Countries on the duke of Medina Celi, who set out by sea to take possession; but that nobleman, knowing nothing of the revolt of the maritime provinces, nor of the force of the Gueuses, most of whom had been exiles on account of their religion, was surrounded unawares by their fleet. Twenty-five of the largest of his ships were taken, some escaped to Rammekins and Middleburg, and he with difficulty got into Sluys. He lost 200,000 guilders in money, and the ships and goods were valued at more than double that sum.

Meanwhile the war by land was carried on with a ferocity which has no example in history. The massacre of St. Bartholomew in France seemed to inspire Alva and his troops with emulation, for now neither age nor sex was spared whenever they recovered a town from the insurgents. At the same time the prince of Orange was seriously affected by

the horrible act committed by the French court, as it proved the falsehood of their professions of regard, and promises of assistance in his wars against the Spaniards. The protestants, alarmed, called on the prince of Orange to protect them. They conferred on him the offices of governor or stadtholder, and commander-in-chief by land and sea, and engaged never to lay down their arms but by his consent. He immediately went to Enckhuysen, where he assisted the states to form a regular government, admitting deputies from twelve additional towns, and establishing the reformed religion in the states.

By this time Philip had begun to doubt of the expediency of the harsh measures pursued by Alva, and he therefore recalled him to Spain, where he suffered a temporary disgrace. He is said to have boasted that eighteen thousand protestants had fallen by the hand of the executioner during his government of five years and a half, besides the numbers that had been put to the sword in the towns he had taken. Luis de Requesens, grand commander of St. Jago, succeeded him; he has been called the Hannibal of his age, no less for his cruelty than his valour.

But while the tyranny and misconduct of Alva had been preparing the loss of the Netherlands, Philip's zeal for religion had caused a civil war of two years in Spain. The Morescoes, by which name such Moors as had submitted to baptism, as well as those who persevered in the profession of

Mahometanism, were known, were accused by the priests of mixing the customs and ceremonies of their ancient faith with those of that they had been compelled to adopt. Upon this the king issued an edict, forbidding the Morescoes under pain of death to use their national dress, to practise their national ceremonies, or to speak their vernacular tongue. It was also enacted that their baths should be destroyed, and the practice of bathing discontinued; that the women should be unveiled; and that no Moor should on any account wear arms, or keep them in his possession. They remonstrated against this edict in a respectful yet earnest manner. Their petition on the subject was presented by the chancellor of Grenada, by the marquis of Mondejar, captain-general of the province, and some other noblemen; Mondejar, indeed, remonstrated with the king upon the impolicy, as well as cruelty, of these severities; but he was inflexible, and prepared to enforce his edicts by arms.

The Morescoes on this met privately at Cadair, in the district of Alpuxara, and despatched messengers to pray for assistance from Constantinople, Fez, and Algiers, and then proceeded to elect a king, whom they new named Aben Humeya, abandoning his enforced Christian appellation, and under whom they rose in arms throughout the Alpuxaras, where they openly renounced Christianity, and returned to their ancient faith. They received a reinforcement of 800 Turks, and a quantity of am-

munition. The marquis of Mondejar was deputed to quell this insurrection; but not being able to accomplish this task in eighteen months, Philip gave the command of a considerable army to his half brother, the accomplished don John of Austria, who in a few weeks succeeded, and left not a single Moresco in arms. The vanquished were removed from their native places into the more inland provinces of Spain, where they existed, treated as slaves, until the final expulsion of their nation. This war, of less than two years, cost Spain above twenty thousand soldiers.

The Morescoes were no sooner subdued, than Philip entered into a league with the pope and the Venetians, against the sultan Selim, who had lately seized upon Cyprus in a time of peace. The armament intended to proceed against the Turks was prepared with the greatest despatch; Philip bound himself to pay one half of the expense; the Venetians engaged to provide for three-fourths of the other half, and the pope the remainder. About the middle of September, 1571, the forces were collected in Messina. They consisted of two hundred and fifty ships of war, and many vessels of burden, conveying near fifty thousand men. Don John of Austria was appointed generalissimo; Requesens, the grand-commander of St. Jago, was his lieutenant, and under him were Doria, the marquis of Santa Croce, Mark Antony Colonna, who commanded the pope's galleys, and Sebastian

Veniero, who led the Venetians. The pope sent a consecrated banner to don John, and a number of clergy to officiate on board the ships.

Selim had prepared a fleet still more numerous ; Haly, who commanded it, reached the western shore of Greece about the time when don John sailed from Messina. The two forces met on the 7th of October, off the gulf of Lepanto, and that famous battle was fought which arrested the progress of the Turkish arms, and to all appearance saved Christendom. Don John took the Turkish admiral's ship, and killed Haly himself; 130 Turkish galleys were taken, 55 burnt or sunk, 25,000 men were killed, 10,000 made prisoners, and 15,000 Christian slaves liberated. Philip received the news coldly, and blamed the rashness of don John in engaging a superior force ; but the pope, on hearing of the victory, exclaimed in the language of scripture, " And there was a man sent from heaven, and his name was John."

The prince would fain have followed up his victory by sailing directly for Constantinople, but the advice of the confederate chiefs, and above all the authority of Luis Requesens, who had been sent with him by Philip, expressly to check his impetuosity, prevented it, and the fleet retired content with having stopped the progress of the Turks, but taking no measures to diminish their power and prosperity. The Greeks were so elated by the victory over the Turks, that they sent to don

John, offering him the sovereignty of their country, confident that under a leader of such skill and fortitude they must succeed in reestablishing their independence; but Philip would not listen to the proposal, and immediately employed his brother in another foreign expedition.

This was against Tunis, which he soon reduced, but instead of destroying it, according to Philip's directions, he rebuilt it, strengthened the fortifications, and constructed a new fort almost equal to the Goletta, which had remained in the hands of the Spaniards ever since it was taken by Charles V. He was in hopes that Philip would have conferred the sovereignty of Tunis on him, and in these hopes he was supported by the pope, who ardently wished to see a Christian state founded in Africa. But it was not possible for Spain at that time to have the force or the population that would have been requisite for the purpose. The Moors were always ready to take advantage of any opening to rebel, and the war of the Low Countries drained it of every disposable soldier.

Requesens, as we have seen, had succeeded the duke of Alva in the government of the Low Countries, and at first seemed disposed to treat the people with more lenity than his predecessor had done; but finding that the states were resolved never to submit to Spain unless they were left totally free in matters of religion, he resolved to prosecute the war. The most memorable event during his short

government was the siege of Leyden. Requesens had committed this enterprise to Valdez, one of his principal generals, who constructed a line of forts, communicating with each other, completely round the town, so as utterly to cut off all succour from without*.

Jan Vander Does, the lord of Nordwich, 'was governor of Leyden; the inhabitants resolved rather to die of hunger, or burn themselves with their wives and children than submit to the Spaniards. They were ere long reduced to feed on the flesh of dogs and horses, and the misery became intolerable. The prince of Orange had collected large supplies of provisions, but he had not force sufficient to convey them into the town. He therefore called an assembly of the states, and there it was resolved to break down the dykes, inundate the country, and convey food to the besieged in flat-bottomed vessels which he had prepared for the purpose. At first the Spaniards were alarmed, but they soon perceived that the water rose only to a certain height, and they could still maintain their position, for a strong north-east wind was blowing which kept down the waters of the rivers, and in this suspense did the besieged remain, until the beginning of the fifth month of their distress; then the wind changed suddenly to

* Intelligence was, however, conveyed by pigeons. These birds were afterwards embalmed and preserved in the town house of Leyden.

the north-west, and forced the currents of the rivers upwards with uncommon violence: it then veered to the south, and blew the waters towards the plains of Leyden, till they were converted into a spacious lake, in which the Spanish forts were seen scattered up and down. The boats well armed, and manned with Zealand sailors, under Boissot, a skilful captain, now approached the town. The Spaniards were soon driven from their forts; the Zealanders pursued them along the dykes: some were swallowed up in mud and water; others, attempting to march along the dykes, were killed by fire from the boats, or dragged down with hooks fixed to poles, and put to the sword with as little mercy as they had shown. Boissot advanced without delay to the gates of the city: it was seven weeks since there had been a bit of bread within the walls, and roots, weeds, and unclean animals, had furnished the whole subsistence of the wretched people, who now crowded round the provisions, some expiring as they reached them, and others destroying themselves by swallowing the long desired food too eagerly. After their first refreshment they accompanied the magistrates to the great church, to render thanks to the Almighty, and there they bemoaned their friends who had not lived to see their release, and praised God for his present mercy.

The prince received the letters while engaged

in public worship, in one of the churches at Delft: he instantly stood up, and read the letter aloud, and then, with the congregation, returned thanks, for the deliverance of their countrymen.

At the beginning of 1575, an abortive attempt at a negotiation for peace was made; immediately after which, Requesens performed the memorable act of fording the channel, from Philipsland to Duveland with his troops, for the purpose of besieging Zurrichzee which held out against him for nine months. Just as it yielded, a fever carried him off, and as no provision was made for the government in case of his death, it fell into the hands of a council of state, who employed count Mansfeldt as their general, and prosecuted the war by every means in their power; and the Spanish soldiers, under pretence of compensation for arrears of pay, committed all sorts of excesses in the places that were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.

In 1576, the estates met at Ghent, and there agreed upon an act called the pacification of Ghent, the chief articles of which were, the expulsion of all foreign soldiers, the restoration of the ancient form of government, and freedom in religion, and the confederation of the rest of the provinces with Holland and Zealand. Shortly afterwards don John of Austria, whom Philip had sent to succeed Requesens, arrived at Luxem-

burgh, and at first seemed favourable to the states, and acceded to the terms of the pacification of Ghent; but an opportunity offering, on the passage of Margaret, queen of France, to Spa, he seized Namur, and showed that he only waited occasion to proceed in the same manner as his predecessors. The states now for the third time called on the prince of Orange, and the war was renewed with fresh vigour.

At the same time there arose another party, at the head of which was the duke of Areschat. This party would have covenanted to preserve their allegiance to Philip, and were strongly attached to the Romish church, but they agreed with the protestant states in the desire of crushing the Spaniards, and restoring their ancient constitution and privileges. Those of the states who were of the Romish church called upon the archduke Mathias to take on him the government, and he eagerly accepted it, notwithstanding the opinion of his brother the emperor, who considered that nothing but a total breach with Philip could justify one of his family in taking the lead in a party decidedly hostile to John of Austria.

During the next year, the confederacy of the states received considerable assistance from queen Elizabeth, both of men and money; the campaign went on with the usual vicissitudes, but at the end don John died of a fever, brought on by fatigue and anxiety. Some writers repeat a popular story,

that Philip caused him to be poisoned, from jealousy of his splendid actions. But it is not likely that he should have committed such a crime, at a time when it materially injured his own interests. Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, was appointed governor by John on his deathbed, and the choice was confirmed by the king.

The state of the Netherlands was now deplorable: the catholics, and such as were jealous of the prince of Orange, were divided between the archduke Mathias and the duke of Anjou, who imagined the present a good opportunity to acquire an independent sovereignty at the expense of Spain, and he took on him the title of protector of the Netherlands. Internal dissensions now arose, and the states seemed by their disunion to be on the point of losing all that they had so long struggled to obtain.

Maestrecht was taken by surprise, while the prince of Orange was labouring with the assistance of Mr. Davidson, queen Elizabeth's envoy, to quell the tumults in Ghent, which had arisen between the Walloons, who were mostly catholics, and the Ghentese who were protestants; but at length the Walloons went over to the prince of Parma, and on condition that he should dismiss the Italian and Spanish troops, the southern provinces submitted to Philip.

To counterbalance this disaster, William of Orange proposed an alliance between the other

provinces. This union is called the union of Utrecht, it contains the fundamental laws of the constitution of the united provinces, and discovers the greatest wisdom and moderation.

The prince of Parma's valour and conduct, the discipline of his army, and the generous qualities of his mind, together with his humanity, and the good faith which he observed in his treaties, soon won back great part of what Philip had lost. The death of the prince of Orange, in 1584, had plunged the united states into the greatest distress. He was assassinated by one Balthazar Gerard, as he rose from table, in the presence of his wife, a princess of Coligny*, in consequence of a reward offered by Philip, to whoever should in any way destroy him. "William of Orange was a man of equal abilities in council as in arms; cautious and resolute, affable and severe, supple to occasions, and yet constant to his ends: of mighty revenues and dependance in the provinces, of great credit and alliances in Germany; esteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely loved and trusted by the people, who thought him affectionate to their country, sincere in his professions and designs, and willing to defend their liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any ambition of his own." As he fell after the shot which killed him had taken effect, he exclaimed, "God have mercy on me

* Her father, and her first husband Teligni, were victims in the massacre of St. Barthelemi.

and on this afflicted people." The states were indeed sensible of their loss! They revenged it by a punishment of the murderer too barbarous to relate.

They honoured William's memory by paying the debts he had incurred in their service, by public mourning, by giving his titles and offices to his son prince Maurice, though then only fourteen years of age, and by a veneration and gratitude approaching to that due to a superior being.

This irreparable loss, and shortly afterwards the reduction of Antwerp and Groningen, reduced the states to such despair, that at one moment they thought of burning their principal cities, laying their country under water, or otherwise wasting it, and seeking in the east, where their ships had made some conquests from the Portuguese, a new home, where the arms of Philip and the decrees of the pope could not reach them. The want of ships prevented the execution of this design, and the succours both of men and money, that Elizabeth now determined on sending them, in some measure relieved their anxiety.

Meanwhile Philip II. had acquired a new crown to compensate for his losses in Flanders. The doubtful fate of Sebastian, king of Portugal, who was either killed or taken prisoner by the Moors of Africa, had left the crown to his brother, the cardinal Henry, who enjoyed it but two years; and at his death, his nephew, Anthony, one of

many competitors, had assumed the title of king, but as it appears without much credit with the people. Philip II. having some pretensions to the crown, resolved to assert his claims, and recalling the duke of Alva from the castle of Uzeda, where he had been in a kind of banishment, he sent him into Portugal at the head of an army to make good his title. In two months the object was accomplished, and Philip, in the year 1580, became king of Portugal, and of all the widely extended colonies of that country. But his ambition was not satisfied. France, embarrassed by the wars of religion, by the troubles of the league, by the extinction of the line of Valois, and the national opposition to a protestant successor, seemed a field open to his ambition; and he accordingly began to claim some rights as collateral heir against Henry IV., who at that time remained a protestant. In her hatred against the house of Bourbon, Catherine of Medicis was willing to entertain the hopes of any competitor who should oppose that family; other persons, at the heads of various parties, courted Philip, and he had in some measure taken part against the Hugonots by sending troops from Flanders to the assistance of the catholic party, while the French protestant provinces had, in their turn, assisted the reformers in Holland. But Henry, by conforming to the Roman catholic faith, and thus removing the obstacle to the succession of the undoubted heir, disappointed the am-

bitious views of Philip in that quarter. The low state to which the united provinces were reduced, after the death of William of Orange, had, as we have seen, engaged the queen of England to send them assistance. She now, however, took a more active part in the war. The states had offered her the sovereignty of their country; this she refused, to avoid giving umbrage to the other states in Europe; but she sent the earl of Leicester, her favourite, with a strong body of troops, to their assistance, on condition that he should be governor of the Low Countries; and Philip, in return, corresponded with her discontented subjects in Ireland, and fomented the troubles of that country by every means in his power, and at length obtained from the pope a donation of that island.

Leicester's misconduct, however, occasioned his recal from Flanders; and Maurice of Nassau, the second son of the prince of Orange, succeeded him as governor, with a politic reservation of Elizabeth's claims. Pope Sextus V. was fully capable of appreciating queen Elizabeth's rare qualities, but the more truly he estimated them, the more he dreaded her great influence exerted against the church of which he was the head. He therefore encouraged Philip's resentment against her to the utmost of his power, and that king, whose life was devoted by a solemn vow to the maintenance of that church, conceived the design of conquering England, and thereby cutting off the main refuge

of the reformers. He was besides enraged at the support she had all along given to the united provinces, and still more at the injuries done to the Spanish colonies in America, by Sir Francis Drake, Thomas Candish, and other English adventurers. Drake had besides sailed into Cadiz, and burnt twenty-eight Spanish ships of war which lay in the harbour, and thus insulted the king of Spain in his own port. He therefore began to prepare for the invasion of Britain with such a force as should at once overcome all opposition. He built ships of uncommon size, furnished them with an extraordinary number of guns, manned and victualled them with the utmost care; and, in the mean while, the prince of Parma had been making extraordinary levies in Germany, and the Spanish part of the Low Countries, with which he was to co-operate with the troops from Spain.

Elizabeth meanwhile prepared her fleet with all diligence, and gave the command to the lord Howard of Effingham; her land forces were brought to the coast, and stationed in the places most likely to be attacked. She herself visited her soldiers, and by her address and kindness inspired them with more than their wonted patriotism and courage. Catholics as well as protestants joined the common cause, fifty ships were equipped by the noblemen and gentry, every maritime town fitted out one or more.

The states of Holland, too, considering that

England was their true bulwark against Spain, kept their fleet, consisting of more than eighty ships ready for action, cruising between Calais and Dover, and as soon as they gained intelligence of the prince of Parma's intended invasion of England, they sent Justin of Nassaw, Maurice's half-brother, with five and thirty ships, to assist lord Seymour, one of the English admirals, to blockade the ports of Flanders, where Parma had prepared his flat-bottomed transports. He had built the most of them at Antwerp, but not daring to bring them by sea to Nieuport, he had sent them along the Scheld to Ghent, from thence to Bruges by the canal, and from Bruges to Nieuport by a canal dug on purpose.

The Spanish fleet was ready for sea in the spring of 1588. It had been solemnly blessed, and had received the name of the INVINCIBLE ARMADA. The marquis de Santa Croce who commanded it was, however, so worn out by the extraordinary exertions he had made to equip it, that he died at Lisbon of a fever, brought on by fatigue and mortification on account of the reproaches of Philip for not being sufficiently active. The duke de Paliano, the vice-admiral, died nearly at the same time, and the command was given to the duke of Medina Sidonia, a man of no experience in naval affairs; but the vice-admiral Martinez Recaldo was a seaman of great skill, and on him the conduct of the fleet was to depend.

On the 29th May the armada left Lisbon, but ere it had been many days at sea, so fearful a storm arose, that it was obliged to put into Corunna to refit. On this occasion, the crews of three of the galleys, manned with English, French, and Turkish slaves, overpowered their officers, and carried the vessels into Bayonne. It was several weeks before the ships were sufficiently repaired to proceed, and it was believed in England that they were entirely disabled, and the expedition given up. Effingham, however, himself sailed toward the coast of Spain to ascertain the state of the enemy, and having ascertained that they were only awaiting a favourable wind, he returned to Plymouth to prepare his fleet to attack the Spaniards as they passed up channel to join the prince of Parma's forces. The English ships were lighter than those of Spain, and incomparably better sailors, so that lord Howard came as close, or fought as far off as he pleased, harassing and endeavouring to separate the Spanish ships which advanced in a half moon steadily up channel. On the right was the squadron of Andalusia, commanded by don Pedro de Valdes, on the left that of Biscay, under don Miguel Oquendo. The centre was occupied by Medina Sidonia himself, the vice-admiral, Recaldo bringing up the rear. The latter being a little behind the rest of the fleet, was attacked by Howard so vigorously, that the Spaniards were alarmed, and closed their line immediately, but not without

disorder, one of the ships of war running foul of the treasure ship, and carrying away one of her masts: part of the treasure was immediately taken on board of Medina Sidonia, but the vessel having fallen astern, Sir Francis Drake took her a few hours afterwards, and the same night got possession of Oquendo's ship, which took fire, as was suspected, by the contrivance of the master-gunner, who was a Fleming. Another vessel was sunk, and several otherwise destroyed. Medina Sidonia then determined to seize upon the Isle of Wight and the adjoining coast of Hampshire, as a convenient shelter for his fleet, but he was deterred by seeing the thirty ships armed by the Londoners, and some others, approach him from the island, having, at the same time, lord Howard in his rear. That whole day was spent in skirmishing, the English working their ships round him, and losing not a shot, while his balls passed over them and seldom touched. At length, on the 7th August, he reached the Straits, where he cast anchor, resolving to wait for Parma and his troops; but during the night lord Howard sent eight fire-ships* against him, which so alarmed the fleet that each crew became anxious for its own ship. Some cut their cables,

* Fire-ships had been first used by the citizens of Antwerp to destroy the stupendous bridge that the prince of Parma had built to prevent their receiving supplies by water during the siege. The dreadful havoc caused by their success on that occasion naturally alarmed the Spaniards now.

and not considering whither they went, ran foul of each other, so that many were disabled, and all dispersed. This was what Effingham desired; he took advantage of their confusion, and being ably seconded by Drake, Frobisher, Norris, and lord Seymour, he attacked them, and the battle lasted from four o'clock in the morning till six in the evening, and ten of the largest Spanish ships were obliged to surrender. The most mortifying loss to the admiral was that of the principal galleass, having on board the inquisitor-general, Manriquez, with three hundred galley-slaves, four hundred soldiers, and treasure to the amount of fifty thousand ducats. She was run ashore at Calais, and destroyed by the English boats; but Manriquez escaped, and carried the news of these disasters to Spain.

The prince of Parma, now perceiving the little chance there was of Medina Sidonia's being able to co-operate with him, gave up all thoughts of joining him; and the admiral, in despair, resolved to make the best of his way to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys. The English followed him closely as far as the coast of Norfolk; but a violent storm arising, Howard returned to his own ports, while the Spaniards were exposed to its fury. Many of them were wrecked on the coasts of Norway, Scotland, and Ireland. Some returned home; but Recaldo and Oquendo died of fatigue on reaching Corunna, and the duke of Medina Sido-

nia was obliged to be carried to his house, with his body and mind almost equally worn out.

Philip received the news of the destruction of this mighty armament with the greatest magnanimity. "I sent my fleets," said he, "to fight the English, not to combat the elements; let us thank God for what remains." Yet there was not a family in Spain that did not put on mourning for some near relation lost in that expedition. The king, fearing the effect this general mourning might have, published an edict abridging the time of wearing it, and at the same time gave fifty thousand ducats for the use of those who had suffered.

The effect of the discomfiture of the mighty preparations of Spain on the rest of Europe was greater than in that country itself. The enormous power of Philip, and his known ambition, which grasped at universal monarchy, had become a terror to every nation; but their fears were now allayed, since the greatest effort he had ever been able to make was thus crushed. Elizabeth went to St. Paul's to return thanks, seated in an open car, and surrounded by the flags and trophies taken from her enemies. Her ministers and nobles accompanied her, and the streets were lined with the citizens under arms, congratulating her as she passed. In the United Provinces the demonstrations of joy were still greater, and in both countries days of solemn thanksgiving were appointed. Elizabeth sent reinforcements under lord Wil-

loughby to the states, enjoining them to submit his conduct entirely to the direction of prince Maurice, the new governor. They had soon occasion to try their united force; for the prince of Parma attempted to take the fort of Bergen-op-Zoom with all the troops he had raised for the invasion of England: but in this and several other enterprises of a like nature he was defeated by Maurice. At the siege of a little place called Wachtendonk by count Peter Mansveldt, Parma's lieutenant, bombs were first used, and the terrified inhabitants prevailed on the garrison to surrender, in order to save the town; but otherwise the campaign was fortunate for the union.

The year 1590 was remarkable for the taking of Breda and other towns by Maurice, and by daily encroachments on the dominions of Philip; and his affairs in the Netherlands were thrown into still further disorder by the expedition which Parma made at his command into France, where Philip insisted on his taking the lead in this part of the war as well as in Flanders. His health, which had long been declining, at length sunk under constant fatigue, and he died in December, 1592, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

With the duke of Parma died all the discipline, and with that all the fortune, of the Spanish arms in Flanders. The frequent mutinies of the soldiers, dangerous in effect and example, were more talked of than any other of their actions in the

short governments of Mansveldt, Ernest, and Fuentes; but the old discipline began to revive, and their fortune to recover a little, under the government of the archduke cardinal Albert, who was sent, both as governor and prince of the Low Countries, at the head of a powerful army, drawn from Germany and Italy, either to recover what had been lost, or to give countenance and support to such a peace as it might be necessary to make.

Philip was now of an age to make him anxious as to the state in which he should leave his dominions to his successor. His designs on England had totally miscarried; his intrigues in France had produced nothing but mortification; and instead of reigning absolutely in the Netherlands, as he had flattered himself when he first appointed Alva to govern them, he had lost seven of his provinces, and held the rest by the tenure of a war that cost him more than their whole produce. He was glad to purchase peace and the sovereignty of Cambray from France at the price of Calais, Dourlen, and several other towns in that country, which had been taken either by the prince of Parma, or by cardinal Albert, at the expense of much blood and treasure.

Unwilling to leave the war in Flanders to his son, he resolved to resign the government of that province in favour of his daughter Clara Isabella Eugenia, whom he intended to bestow in marriage upon the cardinal archduke Albert, whom he highly

esteemed. He considered that Albert, being born a German, would be more likely to conciliate his countrymen, with whose habits and manners he was already familiar, and that the generous and obliging character of Isabella, one of the most accomplished women of the age, might conciliate those whom his own rigour had alienated. Accordingly, on the 6th of May, 1598, he signed a deed of abdication, in which he resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands and the county of Burgundy to that princess, conjointly with her future husband Albert; and after their decease, to their heirs male and female. In case of the failure of heirs, the provinces were to revert to Spain.

This deed was extremely agreeable to the southern states, who still remained subject to Spain; but it had no effect in changing the sentiments of the provinces of the union. They regarded the abdication as a mere temporary measure, and renewed their obligations to maintain their liberty in opposition to whatever attempts might be made to oppose it either by the king of Spain or by Albert.

The interior affairs of Spain, since the failure of the Spanish armada, had been proceeding tranquilly to become more and more despotic. The high spirited nobles of the country had been long employed in foreign wars or in distant adventures. To maintain themselves in these, many had sold or mortgaged their paternal estates. They had, moreover, been deprived of a share in the government

during the two last reigns, and had become mere attendants of the court, or officers in their sovereign's armies, since they had ceased to have a personal interest in the conduct of affairs.

Arragon was the last kingdom of Spain to lose its privileges, and it was apparently an accidental circumstance that gave Philip an opportunity of establishing complete despotism there. Philip had been engaged in an intrigue with Anna Mendoza, princess of Eboli, and had confided the secret to Antonio Perez, his secretary, who having frequent occasion of seeing the princess, it was believed that he had supplanted his master in her regard. At this very time Escovedo, the friend and confidant of don John of Austria, had arrived from Flanders to solicit the king for the return of the Spanish and Italian troops, and finding that Perez opposed him in all his solicitations, he discovered to the king the reported good understanding between Perez and the princess. Philip readily believed the tale, and conceived an implacable hatred against his secretary. He, however, hated Escovedo no less, because he considered him as an abettor of don John in his ambitious projects of procuring an independent government for himself. He therefore resolved to employ one of these men as the instrument of his revenge against the other, and gave orders to Perez to cause Escovedo to be assassinated. This was executed without delay; and the widow and children of Escovedo, by Philip's ex-

press permission, commenced a suit against Perez, to whom he wrote, however, that he need be under no apprehension, as he would stop the prosecution. It was stopped accordingly; and Perez, though he did not appear at court, continued for six years to transact much of the public business that belonged to his office. After that time the king commanded him to be tried for a malversation, when he was fined and imprisoned. He was then offered his liberty on condition that he should deliver up the king's letters concerning the murder of Escovedo, and he accordingly gave up some, and was released; but a new prosecution was now commenced against him for the murder, and he was thrown into prison and put to the torture; but, with his wife and friends, he escaped to Arragon, his native country, where he expected to avail himself of the privileges of that kingdom. Philip caused him to be pursued to Calatayud, where he had taken refuge in a monastery, and conveyed to Zaragoza. When he arrived there he appealed to the justiza of Arragon, who lodged him in the state prison called the Manifestation, until his cause should be tried.

But the marquis of Almenar, the king's attorney, broke into the place with a body of armed men, and carried off Perez to the prison of the inquisition: The people, enraged at this indignity offered to their justiza, rescued Perez, and maltreated Almenar in such a manner that he died of his wounds.

Perez was again lodged in the state prison, an

the viceroy of Arragon ordered thirteen of the principal lawyers to examine whether the cause belonged to the justiza or to the court of inquisition. After long deliberation they declared that Perez could only be tried by the justiza; but, afterwards intimidated or corrupted, they reversed their sentence, and pretending to have discovered that Perez had held a secret correspondence with the heretic king of France, they pronounced that his cause belonged to the inquisition.

The justiza persisted in defending the privileges of his office, and refused to deliver up the prisoner. The viceroy had recourse to force, and seized Perez, loading him with chains; when he was a second time rescued by the people, and made his escape to France.

Philip resolved to seize the opportunity afforded by the resistance of the people to the viceroy for attacking their ancient privileges, and therefore sent a body of troops from Castile, under Alphonso Vargas, towards Zaragoza, with the utmost speed. Lanusa, the justiza, convened the people, and read to them the law of the states of Arragon, by which it was declared lawful to resist the entrance of foreign troops, even though the king himself should command them. It was therefore agreed that they should take up arms and prevent the entrance of the Castilians. Numbers crowded from all quarters to the standard of freedom, but they had no leader to oppose to Philip's captains; Vargas surprised

the city, threw the principal persons into prison, and put the justiza to death without trial, confiscated his goods, and demolished his house, and ordered proclamation to be made through the city that such should be the fate of all who disputed the authority of the king. The palace of the inquisition was fortified, and a strong body of Castilians posted there; and Philip formally abolished the constitution, having proved to the people how insufficient it was against his power.

Meanwhile he had not ceased to foment the troubles in Ireland for the purpose of annoying queen Elizabeth; and in 1596 he had equipped a fleet of a hundred and twenty-eight ships of war and transports, having on board military stores to a great amount, and fourteen thousand troops, for the purpose of making an attack on that island. This force sailed late in the year from Ferrol, under the command of don Martin de Padilla. But a storm off Cape Finisterre dispersed the fleet, destroyed forty ships, and put an end to all thoughts of invading England or Ireland.

On the other hand the earl of Essex, at the head of a prodigious fleet of English and Dutch, under lord Howard of Effingham and count Lewis of Nassau, had made a descent on Cadiz, and taken and destroyed property to the amount of at least twenty millions of ducats.

Such was the state of the war with England at the time of the conclusion of the peace with France,

and Philip's determination to resign the government of the Netherlands to his daughter. Albert was preparing to set out for Madrid, where Philip had now permanently fixed the Spanish court, when he received news of the king's death. That event happened on the 13th September, 1598, in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-third of his reign. He had long been subject to the gout, but the two last years of his life had been passed in great suffering from dropsy, and from a complication of other painful and loathsome diseases.

The character of Philip has been variously represented. His great prudence and policy are acknowledged by all. His persecution of the protestants, whilst it is naturally held up to detestation by their writers, has been praised fervently by the Roman catholic authors, who regard him as the hero and champion of their faith, when it was in most danger from the progress of the reformers.

Where considerations of religion did not interfere, or where he did not dread an encroachment on the prerogatives of his crown, he does not appear to have been cruel or unjust. But on those points not even his own children could differ from him with impunity. He protected men of learning, and was at the expense of printing the polyglot Bible of Antwerp: thus furnishing the ground for the best opposition to the doctrines that he spent his life and treasures to enforce. He was also an encourager of general literature and of the arts. He

possessed wonderful self-command, and bore the various calamities that from time to time befel him with extraordinary magnanimity.

But his actions speak for him; and on considering them attentively, it is impossible to deny that he possessed many great qualities, and equally impossible not to feel that they were all obscured or perverted by bigotry and cruelty.

He was four times married: first, to Maria of Portugal, the mother of the unhappy don Carlos; secondly, to Mary, queen of England; thirdly, to Isabella of France, by whom he had two daughters, Isabel, the wife of the archduke Albert, and Catharine, who married the duke of Savoy. Philip's fourth wife was Anna Maria, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian; of whose numerous children Philip, who succeeded to the kingdom, was the only survivor.



Bull fight on foot.

As one of the greatest works executed by Philip II. was the building the Escorial, in order to fulfil a vow made at the battle of St. Quentin, it may be as well to begin the notice of the state of art, science, and literature, with an account of those artists who built or adorned that magnificent but singular edifice. Juan Bautista, of Toledo, is said to have been the architect whom Philip employed to put his idea concerning the palace into execution. He had resolved that it should be in the form of a gridiron, to commemorate the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. The king's apartments form the handle, the centre is the church, on one side of which is the palace, and on the other the convent, which was endowed for two hundred monks, and which comprehends the college and the library. The situation is in a dry, barren spot, surrounded with mountains, fifteen miles from Madrid; but though nature has done so little, the piety of Philip converted the barren rock into a garden. In twenty-two years the prodigious edifice was finished, under the inspection of Luis de Herrera, the pupil of Juan Bautista, of Toledo; and painters and sculptors were invited from every country to adorn and enrich the work. Theotocupoli, called el Greco, Peregrino Tibalde Sofonisba Angusciola, the two Carducci, and Federigo Zuccherò, came from Italy for the express purpose; and Philip, who was a painter himself, endeavoured to procure as many pictures

of Titian as possible to adorn his new palace. From Flanders came Michael Coxis, Bosch, and several of their countrymen. And the native artists of Spain soon rivalled their foreign masters and visitors. Among these Coello, and Juan Fernandez Navarete, called el Mudo, distinguished themselves; Vasquez, Velasco, Guevara, Juan Bautista, and Luis de Carbajal, with many others might be named, the forerunners of the more splendid times of Velasques and Rubens.

The sculpture of the time also possesses great merit; and indeed every branch of art, illuminating and embroiderings, and working in silver, as well as the higher classes, received ample encouragement from the taste and piety of the king.

In literature the names of Miguel Cervantes, and of Lope de Vega, belong to this reign. The first of these great men had lost his left hand at the battle of Lepanto, and had afterwards been a prisoner at Algiers. It is needless to say more of him: to read Don Quixote is sufficient to persuade us that the writer was capable of every kind of excellence; and Cervantes' beautiful tales and excellent dramas are only the amusements of the leisure hours of the author of that marvellous work.

Lope Felix Vega de Carpio, usually called Lope de Vega, had also been a soldier, and was one of those who partook of the ill fortune of the Invincible Armada. He was a zealot in religion, and

held the office of familiar of the inquisition; yet his benevolence and charity were so great, that none, in the height of his fortune, ever appealed to him without success. As to his talents, they are undisputed; and the facility with which he composed probably surpassed that of any other author whatever. It is computed that he wrote upwards of twenty millions of verses. His works form a collection of seventy-six volumes, besides four hundred scriptural pieces; and we are informed that many more were never printed. Don Alonzo de Ercilla was another of the ornaments of Philip's reign. He was a gentleman of Biscay and a knight of Santiago; he was page to Charles V. and to Philip, whom he accompanied to England; and hearing, while there, of the war Valdivia and other Spanish captains of renown were waging against the Araucanian Indians in Chile, he set out as a volunteer to join them. There he distinguished himself by his bravery, and, if we may trust to the internal evidence afforded by his writings, by his humanity. His poem of the Araucana contains the most exact account of the natural and political state of the Indians, the most generous praises of their valour, and some incidents so touching with regard to them, that we feel that he could not have been a cruel enemy to the people he had taken so much pains to know. The first part of the poem was printed in 1577. Ercilla is counted among the nine muses of Spain:—Ercilla, Garcilasso de

la Vega, Villegas, Quevedo, the count de Rebolledo, the two Argensolas, Luis Ponce de Leon *, and Lope de Vega.

Gonzalo Perez, the father of the unfortunate secretary Antonio Perez, was also a poet of this time. His translation of the *Odyssey* into blank verse is beautiful. Juan de la Cueva greatly improved the drama in the early part of this reign, before Lope de Vega had made it his own. The persecuted father Luis de Leon was one of the most considerable literary men of the age; but his elegant versions of some parts of the sacred writings gave occasion for persecution and long imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition, whence he was released at length with honour. The Argensolas have been called the Horaces of Spain. Many of these illustrious men lived through the next reign, and some new names equal to theirs were then added to the roll of Spanish authors; yet, on the whole, the latter end of the sixteenth century must be considered as the golden age of Spanish poetry. Nor was the Castilian prose of the age less cultivated. The style of some letters which have been preserved, and among them one or two of Philip's and of the duke of Alva, is elegant. The *Annals of Arragon* by Zurita, *Ocampo's General Chronicle*, and the interesting narratives of the various soldiers who ac-

* Commonly called Luis de Leon.

accompanied the first adventurers to the new world, are written in a manner that far surpasses the compositions of a later period.



Costume of Murcia.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP III., 1598, TO
THE DEATH OF PHILIP IV., 1665.



Costume of Valencia.

BEFORE the death of Philip II. he had determined on the marriage of his son Philip III., who was then twenty-one years of age, with Margaret the daughter of the archduke Charles, and that of his daughter Isabella to the archduke Albert.

These marriages were solemnised at Valencia, in April of the following year, with a magnificence corresponding with the high rank of the parties. Philip had employed the interval in visiting Barcelona, Zaragoza, and other parts of the kingdom, where he had received the homage of the people on taking the oaths usual on the accession of the kings of Spain, and had been splendidly entertained with feasts, and bull-fights, and plays, particularly those of Lope de Vega. With these the king was highly delighted; and the exhibition, which was directed by his favourite the count of Gandia, recently created duke of Lerma, tended to confirm that nobleman's influence over him. At length the young queen, who had been long expected, landed at Vinaroz, where she was met by the archbishop of Seville, and a number of the grandees; from Vinaroz she proceeded to Morviedro, where she remained during passion-week, and thence made her entry into Valencia: the king, with the duke of Lerma, having in the meanwhile visited her privately.

The procession of the young queen into Valencia was remarkable: she was seated on a white horse, whose caparisons were covered with gold; and was followed by her mother, Maria of Bavaria, by the infanta donna Isabel, the duchess of Gandia, and twelve other ladies, all on fine horses, with silver caparisons, each having at her side a noble knight in a splendid habit. They were surrounded

by a number of nobles, and met by as brilliant a cavalcade accompanying the king, who came out to meet them. The streets were strewed with flowers, perfumes were burnt in the public places, groups of dancers and singers met the royal pair, and preceded them to the cathedral, where the nuptial ceremony was performed. The festivities lasted several weeks. The fleet of Doria lay off the port, and a magnificent feast given on board of his ship was the signal for the dispersing of the company. Albert and Isabella took their departure for the Low Countries; the count of Lemos went on board of Doria's ship to Naples, as viceroy; and before their departure these three distinguished persons, and the duke of Amalfi, received the order of the Golden Fleece from Philip.

Such was the beginning of the reign of Philip III. in Spain. He was a weak prince by nature, and the rigorous subjection in which he had been educated by his father was such, that even when the portraits of the several daughters of the archduke Charles were presented to him, that he might choose one as his wife, he desired his father to make the selection, saying he was sure that whichever he should name would appear to him the handsomest. This habit of dependence on another was continued after Philip's death. The duke of Lerma was his earliest minister and favourite; his will became the absolute rule of the king's conduct; and as he was not possessed of the talent

for ruling a great kingdom, the affairs of Spain, which had reached their highest point of splendour under Charles I. and Philip II., rapidly declined during this reign.

On Albert's return to Flanders, he found prince Maurice, with a body of English under sir Francis Vere, engaged in the siege of Nieupoort. The archduke, with a considerable force, endeavoured to raise the siege; but the prince gave him battle, and gained a complete victory, in which Albert was wounded, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner.

To compensate for this misfortune, Albert resolved to get possession of Ostend, and having received a reinforcement of 8,000 Italians, under the marquis Spinola, he began a siege which lasted three years, and at length took the place; but in return Maurice took Grave and Sluys. The death of queen Elizabeth at this time was a loss to the provinces, for her successor made peace with Spain immediately, although he would not give up his alliance with Holland, and still permitted the Dutch to recruit their troops in England and Scotland.

The Dutch commonwealth had been thriving in its commercial affairs notwithstanding the war. Great numbers of the people having been brought up to a maritime life, while under the Spanish yoke, now turned their thoughts to independent commerce. They formed a company for the

purpose of trading to the East Indies; and having made themselves masters of most of the Portuguese settlements, which were then considered as belonging to Spain, Holland soon became the great magazine for all Eastern productions.

The archduke Albert finding that Spain, in the exhausted state of her finances, occasioned by the prodigious efforts Philip II. had made in the Netherlands and against England, could afford him no assistance, and that the provinces of Flanders, worn out by a long and cruel war, were incapable of maintaining an army, now began to desire peace. The court of Spain, equally sensible of the necessity, was no less disposed to it. But the Dutch refused to treat, unless the United Provinces were acknowledged as a separate and independent state. At length, however, commissioners were appointed to meet at the Hague, which had become the seat of government; and a truce was concluded for twelve years, on the 9th of April, 1609. The peace had been opposed by Maurice of Nassau, who confidently trusted to the resources of the states against the Spaniards, for obtaining a larger territory and more advantageous terms than could be expected at that time; but the influence of Barneveldt, a pensionary of Holland, venerable for his age and wisdom, and supported by the recommendation of Henry IV. of France, overcame all objections. The most essential points of the treaty were, the acknowledgment of the

independence of the United Provinces; the cessation of hostilities; the enjoyment of all that either party possessed at the time of the truce; that no new fortification should be constructed by either party; and that free commerce should be restored in all parts, in the same manner as it was before the war.

The same year an event took place, in its effects the most disastrous to the welfare of Spain that had ever occurred,—the publication of the edict for the expulsion of the Moriscoes. But it will be necessary to look back for a few years to their history, after the government had agreed to the establishment of the inquisition in Grenada.

It would appear that, the year before his death, Philip II. had become sensible of the impolicy, if not of the wickedness, of the persecution of the Moriscoes, and had communicated with Rome on the subject. Clement VIII. then governed the spiritual interests of the Christians: that enlightened prince immediately granted an edict by which the Moriscoes were allowed four years' grace, during which time they were to be instructed, but neither accused nor tried for relapses, or for adherence to their ancient doctrines. But such was the inveterate hatred entertained by the archbishop of Valencia, and most of the inquisitors, against that unhappy people, that they contrived to arrest the publication of the act for two years after its date. In 1602 the archbishop made a representation to the king, that the

Moriscoes of Valencia were all Mahometans, and despised and hated the Christians. He suggested that "if Spain was formerly lost in the time of Rodrigo by one single person's going over to the Moors, in how great danger Spain must be when there were 90,000 Moors capable of bearing arms within the kingdom, acquainted with the coasts and roads; and who, being extremely desirous of living under a government which will allow liberty of conscience, and withal unwilling to leave Spain, their native country, were prepared to serve any master that would but suffer the free exercise of their religion. So that Spain, by having these people in it, was in danger, not only from the Turks and Moors, but also from the English, and all other enemies of the Catholic faith; especially at a time when that sect of politicians prevailed so much, who permitted subjects to choose their own religion."

In a second memorial, delivered a month after the first, he insisted that the remedy for evils, spiritual or temporal, was to pluck them out by the roots; and reminded Philip that the first king of Israel was commanded to destroy the Amalekites, and not to spare man, woman, nor sucking child: which having forborne to do, he was deprived of his kingdom. From this example and others, he considered the king bound in conscience to banish the Moriscoes. He also urged him to do by them as Sisebut and Swinthela his ancestors had done by

the Jews, and used every argument he supposed likely to work on the king. A third memorial shortly followed these two, wherein he took upon him to direct the manner in which the king ought to proceed in fulfilling this, which he called his imperious duty; and concluded with laying some of the advantages, both spiritual and temporal, before him, which might accrue from banishing the Moriscoes. The list of these will give a true insight into the spirit in which the prelate dictated the ruin of so many of his fellow creatures.

“1. The prelates and curates will thereby be freed from the scruples they are under, and which, if they understand any thing of divinity, they cannot but have, about baptizing those who they know will be apostates.

“2. Your majesty, by selling all the children of the Moriscoes that are under seven years old, who are reckoned to be above five-and-thirty thousand, will both receive a good sum of money, and will gain a great many subjects, who being sold to old Christians, will all become Catholics; and having lost the language, habits, and ceremonies of the Mahometans, will learn and observe those of our faith.

“3. Your majesty may either send the strongest men among them to your own galleys, or sell them to old Christians, among whom they cannot use the Mahometan ceremonies without being observed; but a special care must be taken not to

suffer any of the Morisco men or women to remain in Spain, because that will be of ill consequence to the Morisco children, which are to be bred in it in the Christian faith.

“ On this occasion,” saith he, “ I will repeat what I have often affirmed ; which is, that your majesty may, without any scruple of conscience, make slaves of all the Moriscoes, and may either put them into your own galleys, or mines, or sell them to strangers ; and whereas their number is very great, you may, after you have supplied your own galleys and mines, sell the rest of them in Italy : and as to their children, they may be all sold at good rates here in Spain, which will be so far from being a punishment, that it will be a mercy to them, since by that means they will all become Christians, which they would never have been had they continued with their parents. By the holy execution of which piece of justice, a great sum of money will flow into your majesty’s treasury. Lastly, The Moriscoes being a laborious and industrious people, do, by working cheaper than the Spaniards are able to work, eat the bread out of the Spaniards’ mouths ; and being also very frugal and temperate, they do contribute very little to the public excises.”

But the archbishop of Valencia had a private reason for wishing the expulsion of the Moors. Clement VIII. had, by a brief, charged the archbishopric with a new yearly pension of 3,600 ducats.

besides the ancient proportion towards the maintenance of the school for Morisco girls in Valencia.

But while the archbishop was persuading the king to banish the Moors, the barons of Valencia strenuously and unanimously remonstrated against it, as the greatest injury that could possibly be done to that kingdom, whose lands they said must lie untilled, and its rich manufactures perish, if the Moors, by whose hands those works were carried on, were banished. As to the arguments used by the archbishop to persuade the king, they refuted them completely; and for the accusation that they gave intelligence to the Moorish pirates where they might come ashore and find booty, the barons offered, in the name of the Moors, to redeem all captives, who might at any time be carried off, at their own cost. These remonstrances of the barons were made in the cortes of Valencia in the year 1604, and for a time seemed to have sufficient influence with Philip, who for the present postponed the expulsion of the Moors to give them time for conversion, and he sent don Francisco Quesado to Rome to advise with the pope as to the business. Paul V. ordered schools to be built, and preachers to be endowed out of the ecclesiastical funds of the provinces; and hence arose one part of the vehement desire the superior churchmen showed for the total extinction or the expulsion of that people.

These proceedings in their favour were met by fresh accusations, not only on the part of the arch-

bishop, but on that of his suffragan, the bishop of Orihuela, and above all of one Jago Bleda, a Dominican friar, who maintained that it was lawful to kill all the Moors, whether professing Christianity or not; making use of the old argument of Arnold, the persecutor of the Albigenses, that *God would know his own*, and that those killed in such a cause might claim the rewards of martyrdom, a blessing they could not otherwise have aspired to.

But the most powerful promoter of the expulsion was don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval, cardinal, archbishop of Toledo, grand inquisitor and chancellor of Spain, who was brother to the duke of Lerma, the prime minister and favourite of Philip. This man opposed the leaving even the children under seven years of age in Spain, affirming that it was better to cut off the heads of the men, women, and children, than to leave even an infant in Spain to defile the pure Gothic blood. He accordingly went to Rome himself in 1607, to obtain a brief from the pope to assist in the business he had at heart; and in contradiction to the favourable letters written previously from Rome, he returned with permission to assemble all the prelates of Spain to consult on the means of getting rid of the Moors; for the measure was now resolved on, though kept secret until the king had put his affairs in such a state as not to fear the opposition of the barons.

The impolicy of the expulsion sometimes made the king hesitate, but the priests knew how to

work on his timid mind ; they talked of storms and of earthquakes, and of prodigies seen in the heavens and the waters, as indicative of the wrath of the Almighty on account of the infidels still suffered to be in Spain. Yet these zealots were so far afraid of the censure of the world, that they had prepared the following articles to exhibit against the Moriscoes, in case a public accusation had been resorted to as the means of expelling them. The accusation was however dispensed with, because it would have given notice to the Valencian barons, who would no doubt have come forward in their defence.

1. That they did all rejoice exceedingly when they heard of the Turks or the Moors having had any good success against the Spaniards ; and that this their treasonable joy did never appear so barefaced as in the year 1601, when his majesty's fleet suffered so much before Algiers.

2. That there was nothing they commended so much as that liberty of conscience in all matters of religion which is granted by the Turks and all Mahometans, and some Christian princes, to all their subjects.

3. That whenever they thought they could do it with safety, they did either murder the old Christians that came among them, and especially old Christian beggars, or did keep them in caves until they had an opportunity of selling them to the Barbary Moors.

4. That the images of the saints, and the sacred

reliques, which had by the order of their visitors been left in their houses, were so abhorred by them, that they were found many times in very indecent places, with their heads downwards, and with marks of great contempt upon them.

5. When they were forced to go to church, they did express no manner of devotion for the sacrament, or the images, or the sacred reliques; and that a certain Morisco, who had fled to Algiers, had told the Spanish captives that they were much mistaken if they believed that the Moriscoes, when they forced them to go to mass, did worship the white wafer which was shown them by the priest; and that, instead of worshipping, they were still making figos * at it with their fingers under their cloaks.

6. That when they had a mind to frighten their children, they told them that the Christians were coming to carry them away.

7. That they were all extremely solicitous to provide Morisco nurses for all poor Morisco orphans; and, when they were grown up, to put them to Morisco masters: and that this was not done by them out of charity, but purely to prevent their being made Christians.

8. That none were so much honoured by them as the Moriscoes that had been whipped publicly

* Marks not so much of mockery as of exorcism—such as, being carved in the shape of a small human hand, are still worn in the peninsula to avert the mischiefs of an evil eye, &c.

by the inquisition, or had worn the St. Benito; and for the truth of this an appeal was made to father Lewis Ysila, the master of the sacred palace at Rome, who, when he was inquisitor of Valencia, having ordered a great number of Moriscoes to be whipped publicly, one of their number that had escaped the rod denied to pay the executioner his fee when he demanded it of him, telling him that he had done nothing for it, and having by that means obtained the honour, as he reckoned it, of being severely whipped, he paid the executioner his wages very cheerfully; and that the same master of the sacred palace could testify, that when he was an inquisitor in Valencia, a certain Morisco woman was so far from being ashamed of the St. Benito when it was put upon her, that she desired the officer to let her have another of them, to make a child she had at home a coat.

9. That when any of the Moriscoes escaped to Algiers, or to any other ports of Barbary, they were more zealous Mahometans, and did speak of Christians and their religion with more contempt, than the Moors themselves did.

10. That besides Alfaques, who instructed them in the Mahometan law, they had Alcaldes among them, who punished all that transgressed it.

11. That they reckoned no corn grew so well as that which was sown on Sundays and holidays.

12. That they were such enemies to clocks and bells, that they would not suffer any to be in their houses.

13. That they did reckon it a great sin in a Morisco to accuse any of his brethren to the inquisition.

14. To excuse their not sending for a priest to administer the sacrament to their dying friends, they pretended their friends died suddenly, and before they apprehended them to be in any danger.

15. That all or most of them that died by the hand of justice did, when they were brought to the place of execution, i not before, declare that they died in the Mahometan faith.

Lastly, That they did all send intelligence to the Barbary pirates.

The falsehood of some of these articles, and the absurdity of all, are apparent; yet upon these the duke of Lerma acted. Among the causes for the obstinate perseverance of the Moors in the Mahometan faith may be reckoned the proud care of the Spaniards to distinguish themselves from them by the name of *old Christians*, while the Moriscoes were stigmatised as *new Christians*; and perhaps the species of reverence paid to images by the Romish church disgusted them the more, as their ancient religion holds images of every kind in abhorrence.

The king and the duke of Lerma, who, on this occasion, the friars called the *Angel of his great council*, had fixed on the month of September for the act so ruinous to Spain. Orders had been secretly despatched to the Spanish fleet of twenty ships of war, the Neapolitan fleet of seventeen, the

Portuguese fleet of fourteen, and the Sicilian of nine ships, having upwards of five thousand soldiers on board, to assemble at the ports of Vinarès, Albuques, Denia, and Alicant, under pretence of receiving troops for an expedition to Algiers, that made in the second year of Philip's reign having failed. The Valencian grandees however were alarmed by the appointment of don Pedro de Murcia, governor of Antwerp, to the command of Valencia, and Pedro de Toledo, high admiral of Spain, to that of Denia, and they assembled in Valencia, as they had a right to do, and deputed some of their number to remonstrate with the court on the cruelty of the proceedings against the Moriscoes, and to assure the king and the duke of Lerma, that Valencia would be absolutely ruined, if the Moriscoes, by whom all its work was done, should be turned out of it.

The king, after he had heard their petition, told them they came too late, for that the BAN of expulsion was already published, as indeed it was the day before.

THE BAN.

1. That all the Moriscoes of this kingdom, men, women, and children, shall within three days after the publication of this ban, in the place where they live and have their habitation, depart and go towards the place appointed by the commissaries, (whom they are to follow, and obey) for their embarkation, taking with them so much of their move-

able goods as they are able to carry, there to embark in the galleys and ships, which are ready to carry them to Barbary, where they shall be landed without any molestation, either in word or deed, to their persons, or to the goods they carry with them; and though whatever is necessary to their subsistence shall be provided for them aboard the ships, they may nevertheless lay in what provision they please for themselves; with which ban whosoever shall not comply, but shall violate it in any particular, shall be punished with death.

2. If any of the said Moriscoes shall, after the publication of this ban, absent themselves from the places where they lived, they shall be apprehended by any person that shall meet with them, and such persons are hereby immediately indemnified for the same; and in case any of the said Moriscoes do offer to defend themselves against being carried before the next justice, it shall be lawful to kill him.

3. If any of the said Moriscoes shall hide or bury any of the goods they cannot carry with them, or shall set fire to their houses, corn, orchards, or trees, they shall be put to death by the people of that place where it is done, whom we do command to be the executioners of it, his majesty having been graciously pleased to grant all their goods, moveables, and immoveables, besides those they can carry themselves, to the lords to whom they were vassals.

4. No Morisco shall, under pain of death, remove from the place where he was at the publication of this ban, but they shall all remain where they were at that time, until the commissaries, who are to conduct them to the sea-side, do come to them.

5. For the preservation of the houses, ingenios of sugar, granaries of rice, and aqueducts, &c. and for the instruction of the new inhabitants that are to come in all those works, his majesty, at our request, has been pleased to grant, that in every town where there are an hundred Morisco families, six may remain with their wives and children, provided their children are not nor have ever been married, but are under the tutorage of their parents, and in their proportion more, or fewer according to the number of families in places, only that number must never be exceeded. The nomination of all the families that are to remain shall be left to the lords of the places, who must send an account to us of the persons named by them; and as to the Moriscoes that are to remain in places belonging to the king and to us, care will be taken to prefer the most ancient, and husbandmen, and such as are supposed to be the truest Christians, or that seem best disposed to be reduced to our Holy Faith.

6. No old Christian, nor soldier, native, or foreigner, shall dare to treat any of the Moriscoes

ill, either by word or deed, or to meddle with the persons, wives, or goods, of the said Moriscoes.

7. None shall presume to hide or conceal any of the Moriscoes in their houses, nor shall be any ways assistant to their being concealed, or to their absenting of themselves, upon pain of being condemned to the galleys for six years, without remission, and of other punishments, at his majesty's pleasure.

8. That the Moriscoes may be satisfied that his majesty intends only to banish them out of Spain, and land them without any vexation on the coast of Barbary, we do permit ten of the Moriscoes that shall embark at the first voyage to return, to inform those that are behind how they were used. The same shall be observed in every embarkation by the captain general of the galleys, who shall not suffer any soldier or mariner to abuse the Moriscoes, either by word or deed.

9. Their children, male and female, that are under four years old, whose parents, or if they are orphans, whose guardians are willing they should stay behind, shall not be expelled.

10. The boys and girls that are not above six years old, one of whose parents is an old Christian, may stay, and their mother with them, though she be a Morisco. But if the father be a Morisco, and the mother an old Christian, the father shall be banished, and the children that are under six years old shall remain with their mother.

11. They also may stay who have lived among old Christians for a considerable time, and have not in the two years last past been at any of the meetings of the Moriscoes.

12. They also may stay, who have, with the leave of their prelate, received the most holy sacrament, and can show a certificate from their parish-priest of their having done it.

13. His majesty is graciously pleased to grant leave to the said Moriscoes to go into any kingdom out of the Spanish dominions, provided they depart from their habitations within the time prefixed.

This is his majesty's royal and fixed will, and that the penalties of this ban be executed, and that they shall be executed without remission, and to the intent it may come to the knowledge of all, that it be published in the customary form.

By his Excellency's command,

MANUEL DE ESPINOSA.

Dated at the Palace of Valencia,
on the 22d of September, 1609.

The viceroy, who of himself was no friend to the expulsion, any more than the other barons, knowing how highly the nobles and gentry would be displeased with the publication of this ban, and that it would make all the Moriscoes desperate, did, at the same time with the ban, publish the

following orders, for the security of the peace of the kingdom.

From the gate of the palace to that of the Jews, the walls shall be guarded by the regiment of the governor don James Ferrer, whose guard-house shall be the cloister of the Dominicans.

From the gate of the Jews to that of Racafa, they shall be guarded by the regiment of don John de Castelni, whose guard-house shall be in the hospital.

From the gate of Racafa to that of the Innocents, they shall be guarded by the regiment of don Francis Juan, whose guard-house shall be the post-house of St. Vincent.

From the gate of the Innocents to that of the Tintes, they shall be guarded by the regiment of the conde de Casteller, whose guard-house shall be the Portale.

From the gate de Tintes to that of Serrenes, they shall be guarded by the regiment of the conde de Alaques, whose guard-house shall be the New Gate.

From the gate of Serrenes to the palace, they shall be guarded by the regiment of the conde Bennel, whose guard-house shall be the Gate de Serrenes.

The company of hundred shall repair to the close of the See church and the town-house.

The company de la Seca shall repair to the market-place.

The familiars of the holy office shall repair to the close of St. Laurence, and the house of the Inquisition.

The gentlemen and exempts shall repair to the palace. Five companies shall be on the guard every night, one at the gate of the palace, which shall send sentinels to the magazine of arms, another within the palace, another at the gate of Serres, which shall send sentinels to the magazine of powder, and another at the Gate de Quarto, and another at St. Vincents.

The soldiers, when they are upon the guard, shall not leave their posts for one minute; and to prevent disorders, they shall not be permitted to carry their arms through the streets when they go home to their houses.

The gates of the city shall be shut at their usual hour; and the four chief gates, after they are once shut, shall not be opened without our order, either by word of mouth, or writing, and sent by the serjeant, major, or adjutant.

None upon pain of death shall presume to make any alarm; and if any do presume to do it, the captains and other officers shall assist to apprehend them.

The main-guard shall not beat an alarm, until they have our particular order to do it; and if there should be any such occasion, notice shall be sent to me of it, that I may judge whether it ought to be done or not. For as this city can be in no

great danger but from a great body of men, so such a body cannot approach near to it, without our having notice of them before.

The villages that are about the city must keep strong guards, and in case of any rumour of an army, they shall come and tell me of it, and that without saying any thing of it in the city, or to those that are upon the guard.

In case there should be occasion for a general alarm, it shall be given by striking the great bell, in the See church, with a hammer; and upon that signal being given, candles shall be lighted in all the houses, and be set in the windows, and the men shall all repair to their colours, and the women and children shall all keep within doors. And whereas the suburbs, and the fifteen convents of friars and nuns that are in them, are the most exposed to danger, we do order the five troops, which are the guard of the coast of this kingdom, to be quartered there with their other guards, a whole troop of which body shall patrole every night, the command whereof I do commit to my brother, don Pachico y Cavillo, the marquis de Foamista, my son-in-law, being appointed by me to be about my person, to be employed by me as there shall be occasion.

The Marquis of CARAZENA.

The joy of the cardinal and the archbishop was expressed by ordering public prayers and thanks-

givings on the occasion. But the Moriscoes were in the meanwhile driven almost to despair. At one moment a general rising of the nation was thought of, but the time, the circumstances, disarmed as they were, and the helplessness of the women and children, all rendered that impossible. It was therefore resolved that those who had received permission to remain on account of their skill in manufactures and agriculture, in number six families out of every hundred, should refuse to stay behind their countrymen, and all determined never to give up their children. This caused more distress to the barons of Valencia than ever, for although the corn harvest was over, the vintage was scarcely begun; and as for the sugars and other things which the Moors alone knew how to manage, they must be entirely lost.

After the publication of the ban, the roads and fields were strewed with the dead bodies of Moriscoes, killed either on old grudges, or by soldiers employed by some pious ladies who wished to procure their children to bring up in the christian faith, or by banditti who sold the children and robbed the parents.

Twenty-eight thousand were embarked in the first squadron, and were very kindly received at Tremezen, where their descendants still remain. The barons of Valencia afforded them every alleviation in their power; they accompanied them to the ports of embarkation, and one of the barons

even went to Africa to watch over their safety. Finding, however, that the ships of war could convey so few, the king ordered all the merchants' ships to attend for the purpose; so that, by the end of November, all the Moors of Valencia were conveyed away from their native land, excepting a few who had taken refuge among the mountains. These, imagining that they could defend themselves, chose one Milini Siguiera for their king, and took up arms in their own defence. They also, it is said, murdered all the priests and friars within their reach, and publicly burned the relics and images that had been sent among them; but their efforts to defend or revenge themselves were soon quelled. Milini was executed, and the rest killed, or transported to Africa. A similar insurrection occurred, with similar success, at another place. The children, in both cases, were sold by the soldiers for ten or twelve ducats a-piece.

On the 22d January, the ban was published for expelling the Moriscoes of Grenada, Murcia, and Seville, allowing them thirty days to depart, and permitting them only to take the value of their property in goods, not gold, silver, jewels, or bills of exchange, which was equivalent to robbing them of the greater part of it.

On the 16th of May, all the Moriscoes of Aragon were banished, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of all the nobles to the contrary; and,

on the 11th July, all those of Old and New Castile, Estremadura, and La Mancha.

The Spanish historians are not agreed as to the number of persons thus expelled from their native land: some reckon a million; those who make the lowest calculation say six hundred thousand, besides the slain, and the children detained. Of these, though some were hospitably received in Barbary, others were shipwrecked, not a few were plundered by the Bedouin Arabs, and still more were murdered at sea, in the merchant vessels, for the sake of their property. Of the last embarkation, 60,000 perished.

This great loss of people was fatal to the prosperity of Spain. The country was far from being over-peopled before, and now that the most skilful and industrious of the inhabitants were forcibly thrust out, it began visibly to decline, nor has it ever recovered from the bad effects of this wicked transaction.

In eight years after the expulsion of the Moors, a memorial was delivered to king Philip, begging him to take into consideration the wretched state of the country. It begins thus:

“ The depopulation and want of people in Spain is at present greater than was ever seen or heard of before in the reigns of any of your majesty’s progenitors; it being, in truth, so great at this time, that if God do not provide such a remedy for

us as we may expect from your majesty's piety and wisdom, the crown of Spain is hastening to its total ruin and destruction; nothing being more visible than that Spain is on the point of falling prostrate, its houses being every where in ruins, and its towns and villages lying like so many deserts."

Thus the punishment followed close upon the crime. In this year, 1610, Henry IV. of France was murdered, and it was with difficulty that the king and court could repress the indecent joy of the clergy and lower people on the event, for they had never ceased to consider him as a heretic. That disastrous event postponed, but did not prevent, a treaty of a double marriage between the young king of France and the eldest infanta, and between the prince of Spain and the eldest daughter of France: this treaty was suggested by the pope, in the belief that an union between the houses of Austria and Bourbon must be fatal to the hugonots in France and the protestants in Germany. The princes of Italy were however far from content at the alliance, and accordingly entered into a league with Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, at their head, to oppose the ambitious projects of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, and endeavoured to gain over England to their interests. But the league ended in nothing, and Spain continued for a short season to enjoy tranquillity. A petty warfare, however, broke out between the duke of Savoy

and the Spanish governors of Milan, on the duke's reviving an obsolete claim to Monferrat. But of all the enemies Philip had to apprehend in Italy, the republic of Venice was the most vigilant and the most formidable. It was at this period that the three Spanish ministers in Italy, Alfonso de la Cueva, marquis of Bedmar, Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villa Franca, and Pedro Giron, duke of Ossuna, framed the plot for the destruction of the Venetian republic, which furnishes the subject of St. Real's interesting story of the conspiracy of Venice. Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, had long carried on a piratical warfare against the commerce of Venice, in spite of all remonstrances from the senate, and of orders from Madrid. Villa Franca, governor of Milan, resented the assistance given by the republic to the duke of Savoy, and Bedmar, ambassador at Venice, was able to convey intelligence, to tamper with the foreigners employed by the state, and to cover the designs of the conspirators by politic pretences. He was the original projector of the plot. Every thing was prepared to destroy the republic; great fleets were to surround it; an army, introduced man by man for a long period beforehand, was to overmaster the citizens, murder the senators, set fire to the arsenal, and burn the city. Some slight accidental circumstance, on the nature of which historians are not agreed, discovered the plot and saved the republic.

Bedmar was recalled, at the desire of the senate, and Ossuna was obliged to restore the prizes his ships had made.

And now the evils resulting from the expulsion of the Moors began to be felt. The petition already quoted was presented to the king in 1618. The duke of Lerma, in order to remedy the evils complained of, issued an edict, promising an order of nobility * to every man who should give proofs of skill and industry in agriculture; but fond as the Spaniards are of titles, this was without effect; nor did exemption from military service, promised to all industrious husbandmen, succeed better, and Spain continued to decline; and the blame was cast on the minister, whose favour now daily diminished. He had himself raised up a favourite of the lowest birth, his menial servant, Rodrigo Calderon, who was first made count of Oliva, and then marquis of Siete Iglesias, with an estate of 100,000 crowns a year. His imperious manners made him no less an object of hatred than Lerma was one of dislike and contempt; and both were soon displaced by Philip's confessor Aliaga, originally a creature of Lerma, and by the duke of Uzeda, Lerma's own son. For some time the conde de Lemos, Lerma's nephew, seemed to share the king's regard with Uzeda; and supported his uncle; but the latter being more compliant with Philip's humours, gained the ascendant; and as Lerma had lately

* Something equivalent to our esquire.

received the cardinal's hat from Paul V., who hoped to obtain the dignity of grandee of Spain for his nephew, the prince of Sulmona, the additional ceremony necessary in his intercourse with the cardinal duke was Philip's excuse for preferring his son; and the old man, now upwards of seventy years of age, had the mortification of seeing himself superseded by those whom he had raised to their present stations. After hanging long about the court, in hopes of recovering his station, at least in the king's affection, he retired to his estates, supplanted by his son, and abandoned by his brother, the archbishop of Toledo. The cardinal's hat afterwards preserved him from the punishment, or rather the vengeance, inflicted by his successors on several of his friends. The day before his retreat, the prince of Spain took an affectionate leave of him, and even the king wrote him a soothing letter, which reached him at the place where he rested on the night of his first day's journey from court, together with a stag, shot by the king's own hand. Lerma was gentle, kind, beneficent, and fond of magnificence. Though his capacity was slender, his mind was firm and moderate while in power. Soon after Lerma's disgrace, Calderon was thrown into prison, where he languished for two years, when he was executed, on the pretence that he had poisoned the queen.

In 1619, the long and eventful contest of the thirty years' war commenced; but Philip III. did

not live to see its disastrous effects on both branches of the house of Austria.

Early in his reign, he had resigned all his estates in Germany to the German branch of his family, on condition that the emperor would connive at his acquisition of the Valteline. This conquest was made more by the intrigues than the arms of the duke of Feria, in 1620; and as Spinola, by his conquest of the palatinate, had opened the way from the Spanish Netherlands to the heart of Germany, the dominions of the house of Austria, thus connected, seemed adapted to keep the whole of Europe in awe.

In the same year a design of the duke of Ossuna to usurp the kingdom of Naples, where he had been so long viceroy, was defeated, and that state saved for Spain; but the king had now fallen into a kind of morbid melancholy, and expressed no pleasure at any thing that befel him. He was advised to travel for the good of his health, and went as far as Lisbon, where he was received with such magnificence that he exclaimed that he did not know he was so great a king before. On his return he caused the marriage of his son with the princess of France, who had been brought up in his court, to be celebrated; and about four months afterwards, died on the 31st of March, 1621, in the 44th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign.

Philip III. was weak and indolent, governed by his ministers and priests, for he was pious even to

superstition. His reign was most ruinous to Spain. In America alone were his dominions extended, or his subjects prosperous; but the cruelties and injustice practised against the natives, the narrow and monopolizing spirit in which their colonies were founded, render their whole history disgraceful as part of the history of mankind.

Philip IV. was sixteen years of age at his accession to the throne: don Gaspar de Guzman, duke of Olivares, gentleman of his chamber, had acquired the most despotic influence over his mind, and soon ruled the kingdom with more absolute sway than even Lerma had done under his father.

The first act of the new reign was to banish both the duke of Uzeda and the Jesuit Alcaza, the late king's confessor, who was also inquisitor general, from court, and the next to imprison the duke of Ossuna, who was accused not only of designing to usurp the crown of Naples, but of the most shameless and immoral conduct: he died in prison three years afterwards.

The kingdom was already involved in the thirty years' war. The contest in the north of Italy for the Valteline was supported against Spain by the Venetians and the duke of Savoy, aided by Louis XIII. of France; and Philip's government, not prepared for so formidable a league, allowed the disputed province to be sequestered in the hands of the pope. Meantime the truce for twelve years, concluded with the united provinces, had

expired, and the marquis Spinola laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom, but in vain; after losing 10,000 men, he was obliged to raise the siege. But the Dutch were still more fortunate in the East Indies and the new world: the city of Batavia, which they had founded in the eastern islands, enabled them to command the spice markets, and thus to deprive Spain of one great source of wealth. In the South Seas their fleet beat that of Spain off Lima, sacked Callao, the port of that city, and Guayaquil; and a force under count Maurice, cousin to prince Maurice of Nassau, took possession of the two most important settlements in Brazil, namely, Pernambuco and St. Salvador's*, in the bay of All Saints.

Spinola had written to Madrid to entreat the king to send him supplies, as he was almost in want of every thing to carry on the siege of Breda, which he had undertaken. The only answer he received was,

“ Marquis, take Breda !

I THE KING.”

Breda was indeed taken after ten months' siege, but the affairs of Spain profited but little. The treasure ships were constantly intercepted by the Dutch. Louis XIII. of France, whose cabinet was now conducted by the cardinal Richelieu, gave the united states all possible assistance, as the humbling the house of Austria was the ruling mo-

* Commonly called Bahia.

tive of his government. But the civil war on account of religion did not at that time permit him to give any essential aid to the enemies of that house in Germany.

Olivares, anxious to preserve as many friends as possible to Spain, now renewed a proposal formerly suggested by Lerma for a marriage between Charles, the son of James I. of England, and Elizabeth of Spain, sister to Philip IV., and then about sixteen years old. The project had been mentioned long before to James by the ambassador, Gondomar, a man of great talent and pliability of nature, who had so won on James's easy character that he could persuade him to any thing, and to gratify whom, James committed one of the worst actions of his life, namely, the condemnation of sir Walter Raleigh. The negotiation for this alliance was more pleasing to the king than to the people of England, who dreaded a popish queen; it proceeded, however, with apparent success for some time, when the private feelings of the prince put an end to it.

Charles, who had something romantic and adventurous in his disposition, resolved to see the princess to whom he was betrothed, and accordingly set out in disguise to visit her, accompanied by his favourite the duke of Buckingham, Endymion Porter, and sir Francis Cottington. In their way through Paris, where they preserved a strict incognito on account of the French war with

Spain, Charles saw the princess Henrietta Maria, and it is said from that time resolved to marry no other. However, he pursued his way to Madrid, under the name of Mr. Thomas Smith, and arrived at the ambassador, lord Bristol's house, in the month of March, 1623, and the same evening saw the king, the queen, and the infanta. The latter was then about sixteen, tall, and very fair, with full lips, like most of the house of Austria. The king was then twenty, and of the same complexion, as was his brother, the young cardinal, Ferdinand. Don Carlos, the other brother, was dark, and the favourite of the Spaniards on that account.

Prince Charles remained at Madrid until August, and every obstacle, even that of the pope's dispensation, was got over, when he suddenly returned to England, and the match was broken off to the no small mortification of Olivares and indeed of the whole court. Charles shortly afterwards married the French princess, and the peace between England and Spain was broken.

In 1630, the kings of France and England sent assistance to the protestant league of Germany, at the head of which was Gustavus of Sweden. But that part of the war which was directed particularly against the German branch of the house of Austria, in which Tilly, Walstein, and Piccolomini, distinguished themselves, and in which Gustavus died at the battle of Lutzen, belong but remotely to the affairs of Spain. The consequences indeed involved

Philip IV. in a protracted war with France. The surprise of Treves and the capture of the archbishop furnished the pretext on which Richelieu proclaimed open war against Spain. The French troops immediately took the field.

At the outset of the contest, the Spanish generals in Italy obtained a victory over marshal Crequi, but that was more than compensated by the loss of Lorraine to the imperialists, and of the Valteline to the king of Spain; the latter of which was subdued by the duc de Rohan, and the former by the French army commanded by the king in person. The Valteline was indeed recovered in 1637, and the Spanish and imperial forces, under prince Thomas of Savoy, entered Picardy and took several strong places; but the duke of Orleans having marched hastily against him, he was obliged to evacuate the province.

In the Netherlands the Dutch had retaken Breda, which had cost Spinola so much blood and treasure; but on the other hand the Spanish army obtained a victory over prince Henry of Nassau, who had succeeded to his father Maurice, and the Spanish fleet had dispersed a squadron under the command of count William of Nassau.

In 1689, the Spanish forces in the north of Italy surprised Turin, and in Roussillon retook Salces, which the French had seized in the beginning of the war. But they did not long retain the capital of Piedmont. The count of Harcourt invested and

took it in the course of the same year, and the Spaniards had the further mortification of being beaten in a naval battle off Dunkirk, by admiral Van Tromp.

The finances, exhausted by the assistance afforded to the emperor, and by the pay of so many fleets and armies in different kingdoms, now forced Olivares to devise some means of supply. He accordingly laid a heavy tax on Catalonia, which had hitherto been exempt from contributing to the royal revenue, otherwise than by the ships maintained in the different ports, and the guarding the coasts, free of expense to the king, from the Mediterranean pirates. The Catalans, indignant at the measure, revolted. In one of the first popular commotions at Barcelona, the viceroy, Santa Coloma, was killed, and the people shortly afterwards offered the sovereignty of the province to Louis XIII., on condition that he should respect their ancient constitution and privileges, and that none but native Catalans should be employed in any of the offices of state. The marquis of Velez was sent with an army of Castilians to reduce the Catalans, but in vain; they and their French allies seized on Rosas, Puycerda, Vique, Salsona, and several other places; though on the other side, Philip IV. in person reduced Lerida, and the command of his forces having been committed to his natural son, don John of Austria, a worthy imitator

of the first don John, the whole of Catalonia was by degrees recovered some years afterwards.

In the meantime, Philip lost one of his kingdoms for ever. Portugal, wearied out with supplying the expenses of a long war which did not concern her, and groaning under the tyranny of Miguel de Vasconcellos, who governed the country under the name of the vice-queen, the duchess of Milan, resolved to free itself from a foreign yoke. The duke of Braganza was the nearest heir to the crown of Portugal. He descended in an indirect line from John I., and was married to Leonora de Guzman, the sister of the duke of Medina Sidonia. Olivares, aware of the discontent of the Portuguese, invited Braganza to visit the court of Madrid, in hopes that while he possessed such a hostage the country would remain quiet. Leonora, whose activity and courage far exceeded those of her husband, immediately perceived the snare, but advising him to accept the invitation, but to delay his journey a few days under pretence of preparing for travelling in a suitable manner. She, in the interval, communicated with the Portuguese nobles, and it was resolved that on the day appointed for the journey to Madrid, Vasconcellos should be put to death, the vice-queen dethroned, and Braganza crowned. The design was necessarily communicated to a multitude of persons, yet the secret was so faithfully kept that on

the 1st of December, 1640, the secretary Vasconcellos was first aware of his danger, as he was awakened early in the morning by the signal shot, that gave notice that all was ready. The wretched secretary was dragged from under a heap of papers where he had concealed himself, murdered, and thrown from the window to the populace below. The vice-queen met the murderers with firmness; she had never approved of the harsh measures of Vasconcellos, she confessed that he might have deserved his fate, but advised the insurgents to submit at once, if they would escape exemplary punishment for the crime they had committed. Antonio de Menezes, who had waited upon her for the purpose of persuading her not to endanger her life by ill timed resistance, replied, "Madam, so many persons of rank have not taken up arms merely to punish a wretch who should have perished by the hands of the executioner, but to crown the duke of Braganza our lawful king." Menezes and his friends then insisted on her ordering the German and Spanish troops to evacuate the castle. This was no sooner done, than two messengers were despatched to Villa Viciosa, where the duke and duchess of Braganza awaited with extreme anxiety the news of the result of the enterprise. Leonora was the first to hail her husband king of Portugal: they entered Lisbon on the 8th of the month, and on the 15th the duke was crowned by the name of John IV.

The news of this revolution caused the greatest consternation at the court of Madrid, to all but the king, who was engaged in those puerile amusements, which Olivares took care to provide for him, in order to divert his mind from public affairs. The favourite undertook to announce the loss of a kingdom to his master; and entering his apartment, he said, "I congratulate your majesty on the acquisition of an estate worth twelve hundred thousand crowns: the duke of Braganza has rebelled, and calls himself king of Portugal; the traitor's estates are therefore confiscated." "Look that the mischief be remedied," answered the careless monarch.

But the credit of Olivares was now on the decline. His ambitious plans for the aggrandisement of Spain had entirely failed; the Spanish Netherlands had been reduced to narrower bounds; Lorrain and Burgundy were almost entirely in the hands of France; the provinces of Italy had been attacked, and in most instances with success, by the various enemies of the house of Austria; Portugal had recovered her independence; the American colonies had been insulted by the repeated attacks of the buccaneers of England, France, and Holland; and even in the Spice islands, the Dutch had formed settlements highly disadvantageous to the Spanish trade.

All these disasters were attributed by the people to Olivares, and at the head of those who accused him was his own nephew, don Luis de Haro.

The king, overcome by the solicitous representations of the nobles, and perhaps weary of the long government of his early favourite, dismissed him, just as the death of cardinal Richelieu had removed the only foreign minister whose intrigues had disconcerted his, or whose vigorous execution of schemes not bolder than those of Olivares had borne down the opposition he could make under the circumstances to which Spain was then reduced. Olivares appealed from the partial judgment of an ungrateful master to the people of Spain, in a memoir which he published, wherein he stated the condition in which he had found the affairs of the country, at the beginning of his ministry. He described the depopulation of the country, and his own efforts to remedy that evil, by encouraging marriages, and rewarding foreign husbandmen and artisans, who should settle there. But instead of stopping at an exposition of the state of the public, and of his own merits, he went on to accuse many persons of high rank and dignity, which exasperated the court still more against him, and the king ordered him to retire to Toro, where he died of grief and vexation in 1643.

The successor of Gaspar de Guzman, count of Olivares, and duke of Simancas, commonly called the count-duke, was his nephew, Luis de Haro. The beginning of his ministry was unfortunate. The Spanish army was beaten at Rocroi by the duke D'Enghien, afterwards the great Condé. In

Flanders the French took Mardyke and Grave-lines. In Portugal, the armies sent by Philip to recover that kingdom were overcome by the duke of Albuquerque; only in Catalonia the Castilians gained some advantages over the French, who still held several places in that province.

In 1647, the duke of Arcos, viceroy of Naples, not being able from the ordinary revenues of that kingdom to comply with the extraordinary demand of the Spanish court, for the purposes of the war, imposed a new tax on all the fruit brought into the market. This the common people resisted, fruit being the principal food of the lower orders during part of the year: a countryman having refused to pay duty upon a basket of figs, a soldier attempted to force it from him, a disturbance in the market took place, the soldiers were overpowered, and the viceroy obliged to take refuge in the castle of St. Elmo. The man chosen for their chief by the people on this occasion was Thomas Aniello, called usually Massaniello, a fisherman of Amalfi. He was by nature eloquent and courageous, full of indignation against the Spanish governors, firm and disinterested. He restrained the people from committing any outrages, and proposed terms on which he promised that the people would lay down their arms, and submit to the Spaniards. The cardinal archbishop of Naples conducted the negotiation, and agreed, in the viceroy's name, to abolish all the new impositions, and

to restore the government to what it had been under Charles V. The people, however, were to retain their arms until Arcos could receive instructions from Spain. During the interval, Massaniello received offers of rewards and honours from the viceroy, for having preserved tranquillity, and for his timely submission; but he scrupulously refused either for himself or his family any thing the court had the power to bestow. This disinterestedness, however, could not save him from the revenge of the viceroy, whose creatures mixed among the populace and incited it against Massaniello, who endeavoured to keep it within bounds, and rigorously punished theft or other outrages. On the sixth day of his elevation to the supreme power, he was shot by some of Arcos's arquebussiers, in the church of the Carmelites, on the 16th of July. The Spaniards assert that the murder was committed by some of his own people. Whoever perpetrated the crime, the populace still continued in a state of ferment. The viceroy imagined he might violate the conditions he had made with their former chief; but another of the name of Januarias Aneso, a sword-cutler, arose a very few months afterwards, and the insurrection now appeared so formidable, that don John of Austria was sent with an army to suppress it. The people now declared Henry of Lorraine, duke of Guise, generalissimo of their party. A civil war of many months ensued; but on the 6th of April, 1648, one of the rebels gave up the town during

Guise's absence, and put an end to the contest. Guise fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who retained him for some years in prison. A similar disturbance, on similar grounds and with similar success, occurred in Sicily, when don John of Austria was appointed viceroy, and for the three years of his administration, his wisdom and benignity preserved both countries in peace.

It was also in 1648 that the long war between the United Provinces and Spain was terminated by the peace of Munster or of Westphalia, by which Philip resigned for himself and his successors all and every claim to the sovereignty of those provinces, and acknowledged them as a free and independent state. At the same time, the emperor of Germany, having concluded peace with France, left Philip alone to struggle against that power; and to this difficulty was shortly afterwards added a war with England, then governed by the protector Cromwell, whose fleets under Penn attacked Hispaniola, and took Jamaica in 1653, and under Blake harassed the coast of Spain, disturbed the commerce of the Mediterranean, and intercepted the fleets from America. The marquis of Badajoz, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter, unfortunately perished in one of the vessels, which took fire while engaged with Blake. Shortly afterwards, the same commander took or destroyed sixteen treasure ships under don Diego Diaques, anchored in the bay of Santa Cruz at Teneriffe.

Cromwell also sent assistance to the queen

dowager of Portugal, who had, after John's death, taken upon her the administration of affairs, and had been attacked with fresh forces by Spain during the first months of her widowhood. But don Juan Mendez de Vasconcellos, with some auxiliary English and French troops, not only drove them out of Portugal, but gained a decisive victory over the Castilians under Luis de Haro himself, who, on his return to Madrid, was forced to acknowledge that the exhausted state of the country could support the war no longer, and he therefore made overtures to France for peace. The preliminaries were signed at Paris on the 7th November, 1659, and the treaty was concluded by cardinal Mazarine on the part of France, and don Luis de Haro on that of Spain, in the isle of Pheasants, a small islet in the Bidassoa, which divides the kingdoms.

This is the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees, which was the foundation of many future wars. By it Spain ceded to France Roussillon, Conflans, Cerdagne, part of Flanders, and Hainault, with all Artois, except St. Omer and Aire. The pretensions of France to Navarre were reserved; Dunkirk and Jamaica were yielded to England; the duke of Lorraine, the ally of Spain, was reduced to dependence on France, by dismantling Nancy, and by the cession of Moyenvic and Bar.

The king of France restored his conquests in Catalonia and Italy, promised not to assist the

queen of Portugal farther, and agreed to receive the prince of Condé into his favour. That nobleman had, during the disturbed times of the regency, fled from France, and taken refuge in Spain, whose armies he had joined against his native country. And at the peace of the Pyrenees, his restoration was made a principal article in the treaty. The last condition, however, was, that the eldest infanta should be given in marriage to Louis XIV., with a large dowry in money.

The marriage was celebrated on the 2d of June, 1660, at St. Jean de Luz, whither Louis had come to receive his bride from the hands of her father. The infanta solemnly renounced for herself and her posterity all right to every part of the Spanish dominions. The renunciation was afterwards ratified by Louis for himself and his heirs, and confirmed by the cortes at Madrid. Cardinal Mazarine, however, made a mockery of the engagement, and observed, "Let the match once be concluded, and no renunciation can prevent the king from pretending to the succession of Spain."

The agreement not to assist Portugal was quite as little regarded. The succours sent to the queen were not indeed supplied in the king's name, but in that of the nobility, and even the princes of the blood royal. These, along with some troops supplied by England, were placed by Leonora under the command of marshal Schomberg, who was opposed by don John of Austria, recalled from Sicily, for the

purpose of conducting the Portuguese war. But he was thwarted in all his operations by the queen, who had conceived the greatest jealousy against him.

Elizabeth or Isabel of France, the daughter of Henry IV., had died in 1644: she had several children, one of whom only, Maria Teresa, wife of Louis XIV., survived her father. The son of Isabel, Philip Prospero, died at an early age, and the only son of Philip IV. by his second wife, Mary Anne of Austria, was a sickly child. Hence his mother's jealousy against don John, whose talents and military renown had gained the affection of the nation, and who she feared might aspire, in her stead, to the regency during the minority of the young Charles, or, in case of his death, to the kingdom; for as Philip's eldest daughter had renounced her pretension to the succession, she could hardly hope that the second, Margaret Teresa, her child, married to the emperor Leopold, could make good any claim, if opposed by the actual power of don John.

Philip did not long survive the intrigues which had deprived the army of don John. He had long been in a declining state of health, and on hearing of the utter defeat of his armies on the Portuguese frontier, he fainted as he pronounced, "It is the will of God," and from that moment sunk rapidly to his death, which happened but a few days afterwards, at Madrid, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the sixty-first of his age. His reign

had been disastrous throughout for the kingdom. His death was not less so, for he left his son Charles, an infant of four years old, on the throne, under the guardianship of Mary Anne of Austria, a woman who, without talents to govern, was inordinately fond of power.

The grand officers of state were named by Philip as the queen's council.



Costume of Grenada.

Although the decline of the political grandeur of Spain was accompanied by a corresponding decline in literature, the reigns of Philip III. and IV. might still boast of some splendid names. Cervantes and Lope de Vega were yet alive, and the conde de Rebolledo was in his prime. That nobleman had first served in the fleet under Pedro de Leyva

against the Turks, and afterwards in Flanders as a colonel of horse; and was employed as minister at the imperial court, in a business of great moment. He was afterwards ambassador at Copenhagen; and, on his return to Madrid, was of the council of war. His poetical works, worthy of the golden age of Spanish verse, were printed at Copenhagen and Antwerp.

Vicente Espinel, Pedro de Espinosa, Juan de Jaurequi, and above all, don Francis Quevedo, deserve honour during these reigns. Quevedo's youth was spent in the service of his country in Italy, where he distinguished himself by the utmost prudence and sagacity. His moral discourses prove his sound doctrines and religious sentiments, while his literary pieces display his judgment and refined taste. His great knowledge of Hebrew is apparent from the report of the historian Mariana to the king, requesting that Quevedo might revise the new edition of the Bible of Arias Montanus. He translated Epictetus and Phocylides, and wrote some successful imitations of Anacreon. He excelled both in the serious and burlesque styles of poetry, and in that particular turn for humour which our Butler and Swift delighted in.

The stage was in possession of Lope de Vega and his followers in the irregular drama, Calderon, Solis the historian, and Zamora. But Hernan Perez de Oliva ventured to print two tragedies on the Greek model; and two tragedies by Bermudez, with those of Juan de la Cueva, in the same style,

are full of beauty. Gabriel Lapo, Christoval de Vimes, Christoval de Misa, Mexia de la Cerda, and Zarate, also wrote for the stage, but had not great merit.

The prose writers of this period are numerous and elegant. Mariana and Solis alone would illustrate any age.

Philip III. and IV. both inherited the taste of Philip II. for the fine arts. No less than two hundred and thirty painters' names have been preserved who flourished in their reigns. Of these Velasquez is unquestionably the greatest. He had studied under Herrera; and, patronised by Olivares, he had received a lucrative place at court when Rubens visited Madrid. By his advice Velasquez went to Italy, and having first studied the works of Titian and Tintoretto at Venice, he proceeded to Rome, where he remained a year, employed in the study of the works of Michael Angelo and Raffaele. He made drawings of the different groups of the last judgment in black chalk, on grey paper; and while at Rome painted only two pictures, the celebrated coat of Joseph, and the hall of Vulcan. On his return to Madrid he was singularly honoured by the king, who ennobled him, conferred on him the knighthood of Santiago; and, as gentleman of his bedchamber, kept him continually about his person. At Philip's request he went a second time into Italy to collect works of art, and to invite professors, for the purpose of establishing an academy of painting in Spain. While there, besides

the portraits of many other illustrious persons, he painted that of pope Innocent X., one of his very finest works; and was every where received with the highest honours, on account of his extraordinary talents. It is highly creditable to him, that, after the fall of Olivares, he went to visit and console him; and told the king, that if he must give up either the privilege of showing his gratitude to his first friend, or the honours of the court, much as it would grieve him to quit his majesty, he must prefer the loss of honours and interest to that of his conscience, which would not let him rest if he were ungrateful. The king's attachment to him seemed to increase from that time.

Velasquez accompanied Philip to San Juan de Luz on occasion of the marriage of Louis XIV. and the infanta Maria Teresa, and was remarked there for the elegance of his address, the taste with which he conducted the entertainments as master of the ceremonies, and the richness of his dress, which he said he wore to honour the king his master. His diamonds were among the most splendid of the court, and were far the best disposed; and he wore round his neck a massy chain of gold, the gift of pope Innocent X. He painted the portraits of most of the principal men of his time in Spain. During the visit of prince Charles of England to the court of Madrid, he was much delighted with the works of Velasquez, and sat to him for a portrait; which, however, was never finished, on account of his hasty departure, after

his favourite Buckingham had quarrelled with Olivares.

Velasquez died shortly after his return from San Juan de Luz, and his wife only survived him fourteen days. He painted but few historical pictures, but those are very beautiful; his portraits are extremely fine, and are much better known, having been a good deal dispersed in different countries, while his other works have scarcely been seen out of Spain.

The Spanish decorative sculptors were scarcely fewer than the painters at this time, their number having multiplied in consequence of the increased demand for votive statues, to adorn the new churches and monasteries that were built in the reigns of the Philips.



Donna Mariana, wife of Philip IV.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES II., IN 1665,
TO HIS DEATH, 1700.



Costume of la Mancha.

THE only son of Philip IV. Charles II., a sickly infant, not yet four years old, succeeded to the throne of Spain in 1665, under the regency of his mother, who placed her whole confidence in her confessor, father Nitard, a German Jesuit of obscure birth, but of a supple and intriguing spirit. He was made inquisitor-general, which gave him a

place in the council of regency, and intrusted with the sole direction of affairs. He offended the grandees by his austerity, haughtiness, and personal vanity, while the weakness of his administration gave general discontent. This was fomented by the partisans of don John of Austria, who, distinguished as a statesman and a soldier, was beloved by the people and respected by the nobles.

Philip was no sooner dead, than Louis XIV., under pretence of a local custom which existed in some of the provinces of Flanders, called the right of *devolution*, by which the daughters of a first marriage are preferred to the sons of a second, seized on the country between the Channel and the Scheldt in right of his wife, and before the end of the year added Franche Comté to his conquests.

The maritime nations of the north being alarmed at the rapid progress of France, the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, was formed in 1667, the object of which was to force France to a peace with Spain; and however mortifying a foreign interference might be, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in 1668, was the consequence. Spain recovered Franche Comté, but lost all the fortresses which commanded the Lys and the Scheldt; and in the same year a peace was concluded with Portugal, the first article of which was the acknowledgment of the entire independence of that country.

These disadvantageous treaties roused such general indignation, that don John found little difficulty in driving the unpopular minister from power. The prince had been appointed to the government of the Netherlands, and was on the eve of embarking at Corunna, when he heard that Nitard had caused one of his confidential friends to be arrested and put to death. He immediately returned, but was not permitted to come to court, and the jesuit sent a force to arrest him. Upon this he fled to Arragon, the people took up his cause, and he marched at the head of seven hundred men towards Madrid, and demanded the immediate dismissal of the confessor. The queen endeavoured to place the capital in a state of defence against don John, but the people assembled in the public square, and clamoured for the exile of the jesuit. His mistress, in an agony of despair, threw herself on the ground, crying, "Alas! what avails it to be a queen, if I am denied the liberty enjoyed by the meanest subject, that of choosing my own confessor!" But her grief was unavailing; she was compelled to dismiss Nitard, who returned to Rome. In justice to him, it must be stated, that he refused the appointment of ambassador, which she offered to cover his disgrace, and also a sum of money, preferring, as he said, to "leave Spain a poor man, as he entered it."

But it was impossible for the queen and don John to live amicably together; the prince therefore

retired to Arragon, having been appointed viceroy of that kingdom and of Catalonia.

Nitard was replaced by a new favourite. Don Fernando de Valenzuela had been the page of the duke del Infantado, and afterwards became an attendant on Nitard, and married donna Eugenia, a lady of the queen's household, whose influence opened the way of Valenzuela to the queen herself. He soon became the distributor of royal favours, rose by rapid steps to the highest employments, and became no less absolute, and no less hated, than father Nitard. He was appointed master of the horse, raised to the rank of a grenadier of the first class, and declared prime minister. In the meanwhile the young king had reached the age when by law it was competent for him to assume the government.

The queen, who had always kept him in a kind of honourable imprisonment, endeavoured to continue his state of dependence; but in the night of January 11th, 1677, Charles escaped from his apartment in the old palace, and took refuge in the country palace of the Buen Retiro. Don John was instantly recalled from Arragon, was appointed to the office of prime minister, and the queen imprisoned in a convent at Toledo.

Valenzuela concealed himself for a time behind a panel, in the cell of one of the monks of the escurial; but having occasion to be let blood on account of a fever contracted by such close con-

finement, the surgeon betrayed him. He was immediately banished to the Philippine islands, but ten years afterwards he was permitted to go to Mexico, where he amused himself with getting up theatrical representations of his own comedies, and breaking horses, until his death.

Don John succeeded to the power of the two successive favourites under the most distressing circumstances. In 1672, an alliance had been framed between Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces against France and England, who had combined to ruin Holland. The first year of the war, the French troops had advanced so near to Amsterdam, that the Dutch were reduced to the extremity of breaking down the dykes and inundating the country. But the efforts of the alliance of the two branches of the house of Austria with Holland, at the head of whose government William prince of Orange was now placed, reduced Louis in 1674 to abandon most of his conquests in the Netherlands. But on the other side he overran Franche Comté, and distracted the attention of the Spaniards by incursions into Catalonia, and by fomenting insurrections among the Sicilians, where his forces obtained possession of Messina.

At length the distresses of Spain obliged don John to accede to the treaty of Nimeguen, concluded between Louis and the prince of Orange in 1678, when Louis was allowed to retain Franche Comté; and in return for the surrender of some of

the minor fortresses acquired by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he obtained new cessions, which consolidated his frontier, from the Channel to the Sambre. But the effect of the peace of Nimeguen most strongly and permanently felt was the marriage of Charles II. with Maria Louisa, the daughter of the duke of Orleans, and niece of Louis XIV. Don John was induced to consent to this match, lest the connexion with an Austrian princess, which had been already agreed on, should add weight to the party of the queen dowager. The marriage was celebrated at Quintanapalla, in October 1679, and in the beginning of the following year Louisa made her public entry into Madrid; and as the most proper and flattering homage that could be paid to her, a grand *auto da fé* was celebrated on the occasion, and nineteen persons, and thirty-four effigies, were burnt!!!

In the same year died don John of Austria, the last man of courage or talent whom his family produced in Spain. On his decease the queen dowager was recalled to court. The experience of the past, however, prevented her from taking much part in the government. The king was too weak and too ignorant for the guidance of affairs, and a cabal was formed, consisting of the confessor, the duchess of Torquemada, *Camarera Mayor*, or chief lady of the bedchamber to the young queen, an imperious woman, and d'Eguia, who performed the office without the title of secretary of state.

This man had risen from the situation of a petty clerk to the height of favour. But under the influence of these persons, every department became a scene of confusion. The despatches and papers submitted to the council remained unanswered; those referred to the king were seldom returned, and negligence and indolence seemed to paralyse the whole state. At length the king, hoping to avert the evils that threatened the country, named the duke of Medina Celi as prime minister. He formed several juntas or boards to take into consideration the disorders of the various departments of government, but these only aggravated the general distress. Sudden changes of the currency, which were experiments for the relief of the poverty of the exchequer, ruined public confidence, scarcity and dearth followed, and earthquakes, hurricanes, and inundations swelled the deplorable catalogue of miseries. The king, a prey to a hypochondriac malady, bordering on insanity, was distracted by the quarrels of his mother and of his wife, whom he tenderly loved.

Louis XIV., taking advantage of the wretched state of Spain, pretended that the cession of the county of Alost to him ought to have been inserted in the treaty of Nimeguen, and on the refusal of the court of Madrid to acquiesce, he laid siege to Luxemburg. Charles, wearied with many injuries of a similar nature heaped on him by his father-in-law, openly declared war. But his allies were all

either in the pay of Louis or occupied with their own immediate interests. Genoa alone remained faithful, but it was soon obliged to sue for peace on being bombarded by a French squadron, and shortly afterwards, on the taking of Luxemburg, a new treaty was concluded at Ratisbon in 1684, by which peace was agreed on for twenty years between Spain and France.

The duke of Medina Celi having failed in all his attempts to retrieve the affairs of his country, a new administration was formed under the count of Oropesa, a young nobleman of good talents and conciliatory manners. He reformed several abuses, and issued new financial regulations, which produced some practical advantage; but amidst foreign troubles and domestic wants the revenue fell very short of the demand for money; and, according to Ortiz, the American treasures themselves were like a drop of water, aggravating rather than quenching a raging thirst.

The buccaneers, under the renowned pirate, captain Morgan, and other equally desperate adventurers, had now, for fifteen years, ravaged the Spanish settlements in the Western Indies. At Porto Bello they had seized on the homeward bound treasure ships, and had as yet met with no check to their almost daily depredations.

In Africa, the emperor of Morocco, Ismael, after three months' siege, took the fortress of Larache, and refused to accept of ransom for the prisoners;

and the French, regardless of their treaties, appeared with a strong fleet off Cadiz, which was only redeemed from pillage by paying five hundred thousand crowns.

The death of the young queen Louisa, in 1689, and the marriage of the king with an Austrian princess, Mary Anne of Neuburg, daughter of the elector palatine, tended to diminish the influence of France on the councils of Spain. Oropesa was disgraced, and his place supplied by the young count de Melgar, afterwards admiral of Spain; a league was entered into at Augsburg between Spain, Germany, Holland, and Piedmont, to which England was added on the abdication of king James II. But from this Spain reaped no advantage. Louis continued to encroach on her foreign possessions, and an insurrection in Catalonia, caused by the oppressive government of the marquis of Leganez, completed the measure of the public evils. The duke of Noailles instantly appeared with a formidable army on the frontiers, the fleets of Louis bombarded Alicant and Barcelona, while the rebels had taken arms and chosen for their leader don Antonio de Soler.

The courtiers dreaded the effect of such intelligence on the king, and it was some time before any one of them dared to inform him of the real state of the kingdom; but at length in a council of the principal grandees, he was made acquainted with the extent of the evil it was suffering under:

he appealed to them for advice. The duke of Ossuna alone counselled him to put himself at the head of his troops, to show himself to his people, and to animate the indolent and the careless, by his example. But the other members of the cabinet dissuaded him from a measure which they represented as dangerous to his health. While they were deliberating what was to be done, the duke of Villahermosa had already defeated the rebels, and had surprised and taken their leader Soler: but in the interval the duc de Noailles had taken possession of Urgel, and ravaged the banks of the Segra.

Namur was the next fortress belonging to Spain that fell into the hands of Louis; Charleroy followed; but in the year 1696, Huy, Dixmund, and Namur, were recovered.

In the same year died the queen dowager of Spain, but her death produced no other effect than to strengthen the influence of the young queen. Public distress, and the difficulty of finding resources, produced an union of effort in Oropesa and Melgar, for the common interest, and to quiet the domestic commotions which agitated the country, as well as to make head against the intrigues and arms of Louis, who was as persevering as audacious in his usurpations. He had entered Navarre and Catalonia anew, had taken Barcelona, and was extending his conquests towards the Ebro; when the different states of

Europe being weary of the long protracted war, consented to the peace of Ryswick in 1697, when Louis to the joy of Spain restored the places he had taken, and even gave up some of those he had retained after the treaty of Ratisbon. His object in this extraordinary concession was obvious. Charles's delicate state of health gave every indication of an early death, and as he had no children, Louis imagined that to conciliate the Spanish nation by generosity and moderation would best open the way to securing the throne for one of the princes of his own family. The emperor Leopold remonstrated, but in vain, against the peace of Ryswick: he was obliged to submit to the terms agreed on by the allies, and the succession to the Spanish crown became the ground of a war of intrigue, between the ambassadors of the two nations, and their several adherents in the Spanish court.

The power of Oropesa and Melgar had given way before the rising fortunes of the dukes of Sessa and of Infantado; but the chief minister at this important period was cardinal Portocarrero, formerly ambassador at Rome, and now archbishop of Toledo.

The principal claimants to Charles's crown were, the dauphin, the electoral prince of Bavaria, and the emperor Leopold.

The pretensions of the dauphin were founded on the rights of his mother, the infanta Maria Theresa, as eldest daughter of Philip IV.; notwith-

standing her renunciation of all claims by the treaty of the Pyrenees, confirmed by the will of her father, and by the cortes, according to the law of Spain.

The emperor Leopold founded his claims, first on his descent from Philip, and Johanna of Castile ; and secondly, on the rights of his mother, Mary Anne, daughter of Philip III. These rights he and his eldest son Joseph were content to waive in favour of his second son, the archduke Charles.

The rights of the Bavarian prince were founded on those of his mother, the only daughter of the infanta Margaret, by the emperor Leopold ; and as her renunciation had never been confirmed by the king of Spain, or the cortes, he might justly be regarded as the legitimate heir.

From the moment of Louis XIV.'s marriage, the French court had openly made a jest of the infanta's renunciation. In diplomatic despatches, and in public papers, the French cabinet continually asserted the principle, that no renunciation by a prince or princess could invalidate the claims of their children, until the public became accustomed to hear of the *rights* of the dauphin to the Spanish throne, and to regard them as better founded than those of the other competitors.

The claims of the young prince of Bavaria had been supported by the queen mother while she lived. The queen consort on the other hand favoured the archduke, but her character was ill cal-

culated to obtain success; she was vain, imperious, and unsteady, without talents for business, and wholly governed by her German attendants, the countess of Berlips, and her confessor, father Chiusa, a German Jesuit. Ferdinand Bonaventura, count of Harrach, an experienced statesman, was the imperial ambassador, and had obtained from the king, and from Portocarrero, a promise to nominate the archduke as his successor, provided the emperor would send into Spain 10,000 men, to resist the aggressions which were apprehended from France.

This condition the emperor was unable to fulfil, and the competition for the succession was in the same unsettled state as before, on the arrival of the French ambassador, the duc de Harcourt. The Germans were indeed all powerful at court: the two governments of Catalonia and Milan were given to the prince of Darmstadt and the prince of Vaudemont, both Germans; while the duke of Popoli, the viceroy of Naples, was strongly attached to the same party. But notwithstanding this, the German ambassador, by his stiffness and parsimony, had offended some of the courtiers, who were soon gained over by the address, affability, and munificence of Harcourt, seconded by the agreeable manners of his wife, whose house soon became the resort of all the young and the lively.

The four remaining years of Charles's life were

passed in the midst of daily and hourly intrigues, for the succession to his throne. In 1699, the death of the prince of Bavaria removed one of the competitors ; and from that time the only disputants were, Louis for his grandson the duke of Anjou, and Leopold for his son the archduke Charles.

A very powerful party in favour of Austria had so far succeeded, as to draw the king over to that interest, if indeed the love for his own family were not the real cause of his repugnance to the French. But Portocarrero, who had now joined the Bourbons, employed the most cruel and wicked means to work upon the weak mind of Charles, and ultimately secure the Spanish crown for the descendants of Louis XIV.

The hypochondriac king was easily persuaded that he was bewitched ; and the queen, the admiral of Castile, and Oropesa, were hinted at as the authors of his misery. Troilan Diaz, the king's confessor, was desired to exorcise him ; but though he refused at first, as the act was unlawful, on the joint authority of Portocarrero and of Rocaberti, the inquisitor general, he proceeded to perform the strange ceremony. The dreadful expressions used increased the king's malady, and he sank into a state of most pitiable distress. But his tormentors were not yet satisfied : a nun at Cangas de Tineo was said to be possessed by demons ; the monk who had been employed to exorcise her was now cor-

manded by the cardinal to force the demons to declare whether the king was or was not bewitched, and if he were so, to declare who had bewitched him. The answers of course favoured the Bourbon party. The king was said to be under the influence of magic, and the partisans of Austria were pronounced to be the criminals who had thus practised on him*.

Not satisfied with this, the adherents of the Bourbon faction got up another scene which was equally successful. The regular supply of provisions for the capital, which were furnished by a monopoly, suddenly failed. The starving populace was persuaded that Oropesa and the admiral were in fault: they assembled tumultuously opposite to the royal palace, and clamoured for the dismissal of the ministers, and for a sight of the king; the queen, in order to appease the crowd, appeared at the balcony, and assured them that Charles was asleep. "He has slept too long," exclaimed a voice from below: "it is time he should be awakened to the miseries of his people." The tumult increased, and the wretched monarch was led out to his angry subjects, pale and trembling; satisfaction was promised to the people in his name, and the disgrace of Oropesa and the admiral announced. The next step taken by Porto-

* For his participation in these practices, Diaz, the confessor, was persecuted by the next grand inquisitor, who was a partisan of the house of Austria.

carrero, and his creature don Manuel Arias, for whom he had procured the rank of president of the council of Castile, was to dismiss the German guards, so that the government now remained at the cardinal's disposal. The king retired to the Escorial, to escape from the importunities of those who were urging him on either hand to name his successor. His own affections all inclined him to the Austrian party, but the superstitious feelings which had been impressed on him by the late impostures persuaded him that the safety of the Roman catholic religion would be best secured by a Bourbon king.

At the Escorial he appeared for a short time to regain strength and spirits, and some hopes were entertained of his ultimate recovery. But his disordered imagination led him to perform a ceremony which his father had also had recourse to, while suffering from illness. He descended into the vault of the Pantheon to visit the bodies of his deceased relations, hoping that this pious act might induce them to intercede in heaven for the restoration of his health. The opening of the first coffins made but little impression on him, but when that of his first wife, Louisa of Orleans, was uncovered, and her body appeared unchanged and her countenance scarcely less fair than when alive, he was struck with horror: "I shall soon be with her in heaven," he exclaimed, and hastened to leave the vault. Her appearance continually haunted

him, and his whole thoughts and discourse were of death. He could no longer endure the Escorial, and left it to go to Aranjuez, whence he afterwards proceeded to Madrid.

While the king of Spain was in this deplorable state, Louis XIV. had induced the principal powers in Europe to consent to a treaty for the partition of the Spanish provinces. Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, were assigned to the archduke Charles. The dauphin was to have Naples and Sicily, the states of the Presidii, and the province of Guipuscoa, with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, in exchange for the Milanese. Some minor and conditional articles were added, but these were the main stipulations of a treaty, which Louis only intended as a blind to cover the extent of his ambition. The consequence was that Charles, indignant that foreign cabinets should presume thus to share out his inheritance, withdrew his ministers from the different courts, and they in return recalled theirs, so that the field was now left open for the intrigues of Louis's partisans.

As Charles still struggled between affection for his own family and his superstitious fears, Portocarrero at length persuaded him to refer the matter to the pope, as the common father of Christendom. The duke of Uzeda was chosen to be the bearer of a letter from the king to Rome. The pope was

entirely at the service of Louis XIV., his answer was therefore favourable to his cause; and at length, after a series of intrigues on both sides, too tedious and disgusting to dwell upon, the king made a will in presence of Portocarrero, in favour of the duke of Anjou, the grandson of Louis. He did not long survive this act, which he had performed with extraordinary repugnance, but expired on the 3rd of November, 1700, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his miserable reign.

The hypocrisy of Louis was as remarkable and as base on receiving the will, which he pretended to object to, and require time to consider of, as his intrigues to obtain it had been wicked and successful.

Such was the end of the long line of Spanish monarchs, derived from the ancient Gothic kings. The state was at its highest pitch of glory and prosperity under the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of their grandson Charles. Under Philip II. and III., it began to decline, and during the disastrous reigns of Philip IV. and of his son, Charles II., it sank to the lowest state of wretchedness; arts and literature declined with the political and commercial prosperity of the country. If any of the ancient bold and manly spirit of Spain remained, it sought refuge in the kingdoms of the New World, where, at least, the noble Spaniards

had not the pain of seeing their sovereign and their country the sport or the prey of a foreign court.

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF SPAIN, FROM THE REIGN OF PELAGIUS, WHO FIRST BEGAN TO RETRIEVE THE AFFAIRS OF THE CHRISTIANS AFTER THE MOORISH CONQUEST.

KINGS OF ASTURIAS.

A. D.

718. Pelagius, the first cousin of don Roderick, called the last of the Goths.
 737. Favila, son of Pelagius.
 739. Alonzo I., married to Ermisenda, daughter of Pelagius.

KINGS OF OVIEDO.

757. Froila I., the son of Alonzo.
 768. Orello, cousin-german of Froila.
 774. Silo, married to Adosenda, daughter of Alonzo I.
 783. Mauregat, son of Alonzo I.
 788. Bermudo, brother to Orello, surnamed the Priest.
 791. Alonzo II., son of Froila, surnamed the Chaste.
 842. Ramirez I., son of Bermudo.
 850. Ordonio I., son of Ramirez, by his first wife.
 866. Alonzo III., son of Ordonio, surnamed the Great.
 910. Garcia I., son of Alonzo.

KINGS OF LEON.

914. Ordonio II., brother of Garcia.
 923. Froila II., brother of Ordonio.
 924. Alonzo IV., nephew of Froila, and son of Ordonio, surnamed the Monk.
 927. Ramirez II., brother of Alonzo.
 960. Ordonio III., son of Ramirez.

A. D.

955. Sancho I., brother of Ordonio, surnamed the Fat.
 967. Ramfrez III., son of Sancho.
 962. Bermudo II., brother of Sancho, son of Ordonio III., surnamed the Gouty.
 999. Alonzo V., son of Bermudo.
 1027. Bermudo III., son of Alonzo V.

KINGS OF LEON AND CASTILE.

1037. Ferdinand I., brother-in-law of Bermudo. The first king of Castile, which till then was governed by counts.

KING OF LEON.	KING OF CASTILE.	KING OF GALLICIA.
1065. Alonzo VI., second son of Ferdinand, surnamed the Valiant.	1065. Sancho II., eldest son of Ferdinand.	1065. Garcia, third son of Ferdinand.

1109. Urraca, daughter of Alonzo the Valiant; her second husband, Alonzo VII. of Arragon, is often counted among the kings of Castile.
 1126. Alonzo VIII., son of Urraca, by her first husband, Raymond, count of Galicia.

KINGS OF LEON.

KINGS OF CASTILE.

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| 1157. Ferdinand II., son of Alonzo VIII. | 1137. Sancho III., eldest son of Alonzo. |
| 1188. Alonzo IX., son of Ferdinand. | 1158. Alonzo IX., son of Sancho, surnamed the Noble. |
| 1214. Henry I., son of Alonzo the Noble, and of Eleanor of England, reigned but a short time in Castile. | |

KINGS OF CASTILE AND LEON.

1257. Ferdinand II., surnamed Saint Ferdinand, son of Alonzo IX., king of Leon, reigned first in Castile, and then over both kingdoms.
 1252. Alonzo X., son of Ferdinand, surnamed the Wise.
 1284. Sancho IV., son of Alonzo, surnamed the Great.
 1295. Ferdinand IV., son of Sancho.
 1312. Alonzo XI., son of Ferdinand.

A. D.

1350. Peter, son of Alonzo, surnamed the Cruel.
1368. Henry II., half-brother of Peter, and son of Alonzo XI., surnamed of Trastamare, and also the Magnificent.
1379. John I., son of Henry.
1390. Henry III., son of John, surnamed the Invalid.
1406. John II., son of Henry III. and of Catherine of Lancaster.
1454. Henry IV., son of John.
1474. Isabella, queen of Castile, daughter of John II., and sister to Henry IV.; she reigned jointly with her husband Ferdinand of Arragon.
1504. Philip I., son-in-law of Isabella, reigned in right of his wife, Johanna, daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand.
1516. Charles I., son of Philip and Joanna, better known as the emperor Charles V.
1556. Philip II., son of Charles.
1598. Philip III., son of Philip II.
1621. Philip IV., son of Philip III.
1665. Charles II., son of Philip IV.

*Costume of Estremadura.*

The Spanish taste in literature degenerated, and did every thing else, under the reign of the pitiable Charles II. In imitation of the later and corrupt Italians, the Spanish poets had adopted all the conceits which had deformed the recent Tuscan verses. Some writers opposed to these took the name of *Cultos*, or refined; and, endeavouring to introduce the greatest purity of diction, opposed obscure expressions and quaintly obsolete phrases to the turgid diction of the others. At the head of these were the poet Luis de Gongora, the count de Villamediana, and some others. To such a low state was the public taste reduced, that the greatest applause was lavished on punsters and retailers of jests. "The Muses," says an excellent writer, "gradually drooped with the empire of these monarchs, and expired under the feeble Charles II., who leaving no issue, a prince of the house of Bourbon ascended the throne of Spain. The national dress of the Spaniard, as well as his character, were altered; his sable dress was changed for the gay and effeminate modes of Versailles; Spanish gravity was put out of countenance, and he was deprived of his darling whiskers, as the savage Russians, much about the same time, were deprived of their beards."

The Spanish school of painting continued to flourish to a later period than that of poetry: Murillo, the pupil of Velasquez, was a native of Seville, and first learned drawing of his relation Castillo, a

disciple of some of those earlier Spaniards who had studied at Florence. At the age of twenty-four he was desirous of going to England, to see and study under Vandyke, for whose works he had a great esteem; but the death of that great master prevented his quitting Spain at that time. He also wished to travel to Italy, but not having funds to perform a journey even from Seville to Madrid, he painted a number of small devotional pictures, which he disposed of to the captains of ships going to America, where they found a ready sale to adorn the churches of Mexico and Peru, and with the proceeds he went to Madrid. There he found Velasquez, who immediately procured him every assistance of which he could stand in need, obtained permission for him to study and copy from all the king's pictures, and introduced and recommended him to all who were likely to be of service to his fortune. On his return to Seville he was employed in many public works, and then first used that soft yet free style of painting for which his works are remarkable. His best pictures were painted in the ten last years of his life, that is, from 1670 to 1680. He founded an academy of painting in Seville, and is the father of what was called the Sevillian style of painting. Murillo is said to have painted both landscapes and flowers better than any other Spaniard; and some of his drawings of marine subjects have been highly praised by Bermudez. His principal works were

painted for the churches at Seville; but he also adorned those of Cadiz, Carmona, Cordova, Grenada, and Madrid. The palaces of St. Ildefonso, the Escorial, and the new palace of Madrid, were also rich in his pictures.

The possessions of Spain, besides those in the Low Countries and Italy, which fell into the hands of the Bourbons by the succession of the grandson of Louis XIV. to the throne of Charles II., were :

IN AFRICA.

Ceuta, Oran, Melilla, Massalquiver, and the Canary Islands.

IN ASIA.

The Philippine islands, the Ladrões, and the Caroline islands,

WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

Cuba, San Domingo, called also Hispaniola or Hayti, Puerto-Rico, Trinidad, Magareta, and Tortuga.

IN NORTH AMERICA.

East and West Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, and the immense empire of Old Mexico.

IN SOUTH AMERICA.

New Grenada, or Terra Firma, Guiana, Quito, Peru, Chile, the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, and Paraguay.

The army did not consist of more than 20,000 men; it was ill disciplined and ill provided, and the

navy was in a still worse state. The depredations committed by the pirates and buccaneers on the Spanish settlements in South America had furnished the pretence, if not the reason, for a great diminution in the rents derived from that country, and a civil disturbance in Mexico had been still more injurious to the revenue. Spain itself, half unpeopled and exhausted by foreign war, could contribute little to the general burdens of the state; and the kingdom, which under Charles V. and his son was the most powerful in Europe, had sunk from its high state into one of contempt and wretchedness.



Costume—Cadix.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP V., 1700, TO HIS
DEATH, 1746.



Costume—Arragon.

No sooner had Charles II. expired, than the ministers and officers of state assembled, to examine and publish the royal testament. All ranks were eager to learn who was to be their new master, and the courts of the palace were crowded with persons eager to obtain the earliest news. When the great doors were thrown open, and the duke of Abrantes

appeared, the ministers of France and Austria, who stood nearest, pressed forward to learn the fate of their masters. Blécourt, the ambassador of Louis, advanced with confidence, but Abrantes passing by him, embraced the Austrian Harrach with fervour, so that he imagined that the succession was settled in favour of the archduke Charles. The Spaniard maliciously prolonged the apparent compliment, and then said, "Sir, it is with the greatest pleasure,—sir, it is with the greatest satisfaction—for my whole life—that I take my leave of the most illustrious house of Austria." Harrach could scarcely dissemble his resentment at the unexpected insult. Blécourt instantly despatched to the court of Louis an abstract of the will, by which a French prince was called to the court of Spain.

This celebrated testament consisted of fifty-nine articles: the first eleven of which related to matters of religion and internal government; the rest concerned the succession.

Philip, duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin, was declared heir to the whole Spanish monarchy. In case of his being called to the throne of France, or of his death without heirs, his brother, the duke of Berry, was to succeed on the same conditions. The archduke Charles was named after the two brothers of Bourbon, failing whom the crown of Spain was entailed on the duke of Savoy and his heirs.

A junta of regency was appointed to administer

the government until the prince should arrive in his new dominions. At the head of this junta was cardinal Portocarrero, who immediately despatched an official notice of the nomination of Philip to his grandfather, and a petition that he would send the young king without delay, to take possession of the throne.

Louis affected doubt and difficulty as to permitting his grandson to accept the bequest of Charles, until he had taken the advice of his council, which was accordingly convened at Fontainebleau, where the court then was. The members were the dauphin, the chancellor Pontchartrain, the duke of Beauvilliers, who was governor of the duke of Anjou, and the marquis de Torci, secretary for foreign affairs. The advice of the council, and especially that of the dauphin, who declared his ambition to be at once the son and the father of a king, was of course such as Louis desired, and he accordingly signified to the Spanish ambassador his determination to accept the will. He wrote a private letter at the same time to Portocarrero, thanking him for the zeal with which he had served him, and assuring him that the young sovereign would be entirely guided by his counsels.

On returning to Versailles a more public acceptance of the crown of Spain was announced. The king summoned the dauphin, with his children, the dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, together with the Spanish ambassador, into his cabinet, and

addressed the duke of Anjou as follows: "Sir—the king of Spain has made you a king—the nobles demand you—the people desire you, and I give my consent. You are going to reign over the greatest monarchy in the world, and over a brave people, who have been ever distinguished for their honour and loyalty: I recommend you to love them, and gain their affections by the mildness of your government." Then, turning to the ambassador, he said, "Sir, salute your king;" and the ambassador, kneeling, offered his homage.

The folding doors between the cabinet and the drawing-room were then thrown open, and Louis advanced and addressed the crowd assembled there. "Sirs," said he, "behold the king of Spain: his birth, and the will of the late monarch, have called him to the throne. The whole Spanish nation demand him: it is the decree of Heaven, and I yield to it with pleasure." Then again, addressing the prince, he said, "Be a good Spaniard; that is your first duty; but remember that you were born a Frenchman, to maintain the union of the two crowns."

The young prince immediately received the honours of royalty, and the congratulations of his family and the court.

On the 4th of January, 1701, Philip departed from the French court. He had a long conference with his grandfather, and afterwards attended mass with his whole family. After this ceremony, the

royal family quitted Paris in the same coach, and, attended by a very numerous cavalcade, proceeded to Scean, where they were to separate. The parting was long and tender. At the moment of separation, Louis presented his relations to Philip, with the memorable address: "Behold the princes of my blood and of yours. The two nations should consider themselves but as one; they ought to have the same interests; and therefore I hope these princes will be as much attached to you as to me. Henceforward there will be no Pyrenees."

Philip, accompanied by his two brothers, then proceeded to Bourdeaux, where he was met by the constable of Castille, the new ambassador to the French court; thence they proceeded to St. Jean de Luz, and took leave of each other at the Isle of Phesants. All the French, with the exception of the duke de Harcourt, the marquis de Louville, and the count d'Ayen, returned with the princes to Paris; and a splendid suite of Spanish grandees met their new king, and conveyed him in a magnificent barge across the Bidassoa. He took up his abode at the palace of the Buen Retiro, until the preparations for his public entry into Madrid should be finished; and, in the meantime, he seized a pretext for removing the queen dowager from court.

On the 21st of April, the new king made a triumphal entry into his capital, with a magnificence calculated to flatter the people. He had just reached his seventeenth year. He was of a

sedate and docile temper. Bred up in the bigoted court of madame de Maintenon, where all was submission to the king, he had imbibed a respect for the person and the will of his grandfather bordering on adoration. He had a deep sense of religion, and was remarkable for the purity of his morals and the decorum of his behaviour. His countenance was agreeable, but his person was slightly deformed, and his manners were stiff, from his extreme timidity.

He had received from his grandfather instructions in writing for his conduct, which he literally obeyed. They were chiefly directed to such measures as should favour the French interests, and to throw the direction of affairs into the hands of the French ministers.

Louis had taken every imaginable precaution to secure the undisturbed accession of his grandson. He had collected a numerous army, under the command of Harcourt, on the Spanish frontier, and had filled the ports of Spain with French vessels of war. He had found means to gain the prince of Vaudemont, governor of Milan, and the duke of Popoli, viceroy of Naples, though both of them were originally attached to the Austrian interest. He wrote letters to William III., excusing himself for the part he had acted, on the ground that the emperor had not acceded to the treaty of partition; and he used the same arguments with the Dutch. William, though indignant at the deception which

Louis had practised, was forced by the parliament to continue at peace; and the Dutch, surprised and overawed, were obliged to do the same; while the French king, regardless of all treaties, sent an army into the Netherlands, and took possession of all the frontier fortresses.

The emperor Leopold, disappointed and insulted, resolved on war. He issued a protest against the usurpation of the Spanish throne by a French prince, and questioned at once the authenticity of the will and the right of the late king to make a disposition contrary to the solemn obligation of treaties.

Meanwhile the internal government of Spain was entirely controlled by Portocarrero. Under pretence of punishing their partialities for the house of Austria, he removed many of the grandees from the cabinet and the court. He filled all places with his own dependants, who were chiefly ecclesiastics; and went so far as to make one priest governor of Mexico, and another the superintendent of commerce, at Seville. Under the late sovereigns, the different departments of government had been carried on by the several councils or boards, of Castile, of war, of finance, of the Indies, of marine, of grace, of justice; and the heads of these boards formed a cabinet council, called the *universal despacho*, the chief secretary of which council making its deliberations known to the king, and receiving his commands con-

cerning them, was in fact prime minister of Spain. To obviate the danger there was of this secretary, a real Spaniard, from exercising the influence naturally arising from his situation, Portocarrero, and Harcourt the French ambassador, were permitted to attend the king while the secretary made his reports; and thus the French influence was the more firmly established.

The Spanish nation in the first moments of the new reign seemed disposed to pay every kind of adulation to the king of France, and invited him to come to Madrid and regulate the affairs of the kingdom. "They have made me prime minister to my grandson," said Louis; and he was thus deceived into believing that he might rule Spain as despotically as he had long ruled France; but at the same time Louville remarked, that should an angel descend from heaven to govern Spain, the public hopes must be disappointed, in the existing state of the country, gangrened as it was from one end to the other. The finances were in so low a state, that the pay of the troops was in constant arrears; and the royal guards often shared with the beggars the charities of the convents and hospitals. The frontiers were unfortified, the fleets unmanned.

Portocarrero began an injudicious reform of the finances; which, without gaining much for the public, ruined many private families, and consequently alienated them from the Bourbon interest.

The pride of the Spanish grandees was deeply wounded by an order giving equal honours and rank to the French peers; and they were still farther alienated by the petulance with which the French pretended to reform their cookery, their dress, and their ancient etiquette. Madrid was crowded with swarms of Frenchmen of the most despicable characters, who by their infamous conduct drew odium on their own native country, and disgusted the people among whom they had now fixed themselves. Thus the seeds of rebellion were sown, and the public evils were increased by the fanatic clergy, who stigmatised the French as heretics.

The appointment of Orri, a Frenchman of low birth, to the direction of the finances, was another cause of discontent, and the whole nation was clamorous for the assembly of the cortes; the only constitutional power that existed for the redress of grievances.

Philip, wearied and harassed by embarrassments too weighty for his talents or his years, had now sunk into a state of indolence and apathy, from which nothing seemed to have power to rouse him. He, equally with his ministers, dreaded the meeting of the cortes; and in order to gain time promised that he would hold that assembly after his return from Catalonia, whither he was going to meet Louisa, princess of Savoy, who had been chosen for his queen.

Louis XIV. aware that the temper and disposition of his grandson would expose him to be entirely governed by his wife, resolved that she at least should be watched by persons in the French interests, and separated from all her Piedmontese connexions. There appeared however great difficulty in finding a *camerera mayor*, or chief lady of the bedchamber, who should unite the qualities of attachment and subserviency to Louis's policy, with high rank and birth, and a knowledge of the language, temper, and forms of the Spaniards. But an intimate friend of madame de Maintenon soon presented herself, who possessed all those qualifications, and a thousand talents and charms which rendered them more effective.

Anne Mary La Tremouille, daughter of Louis, duke of Noirmoutier, and widow of Blaise de Taleyrand, prince of Chalais, had married a second time. Her last husband was Flavio dei Orsini, duke of Bracciano, a grandee of Spain. She had lived among the most distinguished men of the age in Rome, where she had formed her character and manners upon the best models, and in her visits to Versailles was considered as one of the brightest ornaments of the court.

Such was the person fixed on to govern Philip's household: she soon succeeded in making herself absolute mistress of the queen's mind, who at the age of fourteen, lively, spirited, and affectionate,

had been suddenly and harshly separated from all her Piedmontese friends and attendants, and who was easily won over by the caresses and officious services of the princess Orsini.

Being the widow of a Spanish grandee, and speaking the language of the country, she was not looked upon as a foreigner, and yet she was sufficiently so not to take part with any Spanish cabal, against the French influence. She was gifted with eloquence, gaiety, good humour, and evenness of temper; she was inordinately fond of power, and ambitious beyond, not only other women, but most men.

The marriage of Philip and Louisa was celebrated at Figueras in October, 1701, and the influence of the princess Orsini in the affairs of Spain may be said to have begun from that hour.

Immediately after their marriage, the king and queen proceeded to Barcelona, where the cortes of Catalonia were assembled to meet him. But the discontent of that province equalled that of Castile, and three months were passed in altercations before even a small contribution was granted to Philip, who dreading the turbulence of his Spanish subjects, and the disagreement of his ministers, resolved to visit his dominions in Italy.

In the meantime, however, Louis XIV. began to manifest his disposition to avail himself of his relationship to the king of Spain, and to repay himself,

as he said, for the expense he had been at in supporting that country against foreign enemies, by getting possession of the whole of the Netherlands.

The demand made on this occasion was answered by the French minister, Marsan, who had succeeded Harcourt, whose health had obliged him to abstain from business, by a statement of Philip's utter inability to comply, by his own power, with Louis's demand; and the impossibility of proposing it to the Spanish council, without running the risk it to war into which all the powers who had not already taken part would enter. The design was therefore, for the present, suspended.

Philip's intention of quitting Spain for Naples met with great opposition until he agreed to leave his queen behind as a hostage for his return. He sailed from Barcelona in April, 1702, and the queen immediately went to Zaragoza to hold the cortes of Arragon. There she obtained from the states but a small supply. The members indeed showed themselves full of duty and respect towards her person, but were refractory and jealous on the minutest points which regarded their own privileges. Louisa then proceeded to Madrid, where she was received with every mark of respect; but her task of regent was rendered painful by the ill conduct of Portocarrero, and the discontent of the other members of her council, occasioned in great measure by the precipitate reforms of Orri, the

new treasurer, and the open interference of the princess Orsini in matters of state.

Philip's visit to Italy did not answer his expectations. The French army, in which he fought, gained the battle of Luzzara against the prince Eugene, it is true; but the people of Naples had openly expressed their dislike to his person, and the pope had refused him the investiture of the kingdom.

He was soon recalled to Spain by matters of high importance. The insolence and arrogance of Louis XIV. had at length exasperated most of the courts of Europe. His edict, contradicting all his treaties and solemn promises, by which the throne of France was settled on Philip, in default of his brother's heirs, was an open violation of the precautions that had been taken for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being united. His usurpation of the Netherlands, and his acknowledgment of the pretender as king of England on the death of James II. roused England and Holland from their state of peace. The grand alliance was concluded at the Hague between England, Germany, and the United States, on the 7th September, 1701; and in March of the following year 10,000 English, under the earl of Marlborough, were sent over to Holland, and William prepared to follow and direct the war in person.

The death of this most illustrious king seemed for a moment to cloud the hopes of the allies ; but his successor Anne, following the same line of policy, Marlborough continued to command her armies against Louis, and the prudence of the pensionary Heinsius preserved the union between Holland and England, so necessary to the prosperity of both. The diet of Ratisbon, at the persuasion of the emperor Leopold, declared war against Louis XIV. and Philip, and the same day the same formal proclamation took place at London, Vienna, and the Hague. In the very first campaign the successes of Marlborough and of the imperialists on the side of the Netherlands and Alsace embarrassed the two Bourbon courts, while Spain was more peculiarly distressed by losses at sea.

A fleet, consisting of fifty ships of war, English and Dutch, carrying 14,000 troops, and well equipped for the enterprise, was despatched under sir George Rooke, as English admiral, and Alemond, as the Dutch commander, while the land forces were committed to sir Harry Bellasis and general Sparre, the supreme direction of the whole being given to the duke of Ormond, to effect a landing near Cadiz, reduce that fortress, and take possession of the isle of Leon, as a place whence operations might be carried on against the French party in Spain.

The preparations made for this armament could

not be unknown to the Spanish government; but so great was their apathy that they had taken no pains to protect the coast; the garrison of Cadiz contained no more than 300 men, without provisions or stores, and only 150 foot and 30 horse could be collected even when the combined fleet was in sight.

But the queen, though only in her fourteenth year, displayed great spirit and resource. She called the ministers together, declared she would herself repair to Andalusia to defend it, offered her jewels for sale, and by her eloquence animated the coldest to exertion. Portocarrero raised six squadrons of horse, the bishop of Cordova a regiment of foot, the grandees, clergy, and people followed these examples, assistance in men and stores was conveyed into Cadiz, and a general rising took place in the country more immediately threatened by the enemy.

But for this time Spain was saved by the discord which prevailed between the various commanders of the expedition. When at length, after many debates and delays, the army was landed, their only object appeared to be plunder. The village of St. Mary's, whither the richer inhabitants of Cadiz had conveyed their effects, was taken, the churches were polluted with slaughter, and the images and sacred utensils profaned. Rota and fort St. Catherine shared the same fate. The scandalous conduct of even the leaders of this expe-

dition served to unite the people to their government, and did essential injury to the cause of the archduke, in whose name they had issued a proclamation, inviting the people to throw off the yoke of the Bourbons.

After a vain attempt to force the harbour, Ormond's troops were forced to re-embark, and to set sail for England. On their way thither, sir George Rooke obtained intelligence that the great annual treasure fleet, under the command of don Manuel Velasco, finding the port of Cadiz occupied by the combined fleets, had anchored in Vigo Bay. The convoy consisted of ten French ships of war, and the galleons themselves were well armed. The whole was valued at £3,500,000 sterling in bullion, besides merchandise. This valuable property might have been landed and secured but for the jealousy of the board of trade at Cadiz, which forbade the landing of the American treasure any where but in that port. Every other precaution was, however, taken. A boom was chained across the harbour, the ships of war were moored in the most commanding stations, and the neighbouring forts were garrisoned. But the superior force of Rooke soon forced through these obstacles. The boom was broken by the first attack, a detachment of the army landed and scaled the forts, and the fleet advanced against the vessels moored in the passage. All hope of escape being vain, the French set fire to their ships, and took refuge on shore, and an at-

tempt was made to destroy the galleons; but the victors succeeded in taking nine of the ships of war and six galleons, though a considerable portion of the property was sunk in the bay.

This loss was of serious consequence to the king of Spain, who was deprived of great part of his American revenue at a time of great financial distress, and having lost the last remnant of his naval force, he was reduced to throw the trade of the colonies into the hands of the French, to the great detriment of his own subjects. Philip was at Genoa on his way back to Spain when he learned the disaster of Vigo bay: he hastened his journey, and arrived in Zaragoza in January, 1703, accompanied by cardinal d'Estrée, the new French ambassador. This man, who possessed high birth, exalted station, and great talents, flattered himself that he had only to appear at Madrid, and be in fact the sovereign of the country, which he resolved to rule subject to no control but the advice of Louis. In this project, however, there were many to oppose him, particularly the princess Orsini; and the court of Philip became a scene of cabal and intrigue for power. The despatches between Madrid and Paris were filled with the squabbles between the ambassador and the favourite, equally the creatures of Louis, at a time when the most momentous war was just breaking out. The cardinal was displaced, but his nephew, the abbé d'Estrée, succeeded him both in his public office, and in his private cabals.

The princess had acquired unbounded influence over the young queen, and consequently over the king, whose fondness for his consort was as great as it was well deserved.

The beginning of 1704 is memorable for the invasion of Spain by Philip's competitor, the archduke Charles, who landed at Lisbon with 8000 English and 6000 Dutch troops, and was received with great respect and kindness by the king of Portugal himself. A declaration of war was soon issued against Philip by that sovereign and by Charles, as rightful king of Spain. But here, as at Cadiz, the commanders, Schomberg and Fugel, did not agree, and jealous disputes between their officers and those of the Portuguese army wasted the time that would have been of advantage to their cause, and gave the Spaniards leisure to assemble an opposing force. Troops were brought from the Netherlands, some old regiments were recruited, new ones raised, 12,000 French, with the duke of Berwick appointed commander-in-chief in Spain, joined them. The French and Spanish forces immediately attacked the frontiers of Portugal, and for some little time with success; but the confederates soon drove them back, and the heat of summer compelled both armies to retire to quarters before any thing decisive was done. In the autumn fresh troops from England encouraged the archduke and the king of Portugal to attack the Spanish frontier towns, but their advances were checked

by Berwick, who saved the frontier, and then both parties retired. In the meantime an unsuccessful descent was made on the coast of Catalonia, but that ill fortune was made up for by the capture and occupation of Gibraltar in the name of the queen of Great Britain. In August of the same year, the French fleet, under the count of Thoulouse, and the English, under sir Cloudesley Shovel, met, and after a fight of two days, both parties claimed the victory, but the French were the first to retire, and felt the loss incurred longest.

The internal distress of Spain was augmented by the misfortunes which fell upon the house of Bourbon. In Germany, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough baffled all the designs of the united French and Bavarians, under Tallard, and the effect of the battle of Blenheim, where the French lost 40,000 men, and 13,000 prisoners, was felt in every part of Europe. But in Spain it was hailed by the disaffected as the downfall of French power, and even the loyal, hopeless of protection from Louis, became lukewarm towards his grandson.

Yet notwithstanding these public misfortunes, the petty intrigues carried on in the court at Madrid by the French proceeded to greater excess than ever. The representations of the two *Estrées* so enraged Louis against the princess Orsini, that he determined to remove her; but being aware of the devotion of Philip to the queen's wishes, he ordered

him, as a preliminary step, to join the duke of Berwick and the army; and having thus removed him from the sphere of her influence, he announced his positive will that the favourite should be exiled; and at the same time the abbé d'Estrée was recalled, so that his plans for directing the court, when he should have removed the princess, were defeated. He was succeeded by the count de Grammont, who in vain endeavoured to procure such a ministry at Madrid as should be as subservient to the French interest as Louis required, and at the same time be able to place the financial affairs of Spain in such a state as that she might supply her share of the expenses of the war. But the queen, irritated at the result offered to her and her husband in the peremptory dismissal of her friend without consulting them, thwarted all his operations, made common cause with the president of Castile, Montelano, and in every thing opposed the measures and ministers recommended by France. She continued this conduct even at the time when the country was invaded on all sides, and the losses of the French rendered it almost impossible for them to afford any assistance. Louis at length became sensible, that to gratify the queen was the only means by which he could hope to influence his grandson, whose imbecility of mind required the guidance of another, and whose excessive fondness for the queen rendered it impossible to influence

him by means of any person disagreeable to her. The princess Orsini had artfully contrived to obtain permission to remain in France instead of going to Rome, as Louis had at first resolved. She was now called to Paris under the specious pretence of justifying herself from the accusations of the d'Estrées and Louis, and madame de Maintenon left nothing undone to gratify and flatter her, so that her return to the Spanish court had the air of a triumph. Two measures equally distasteful to the Spaniards were adopted about the time of her return; the first was the admittance of French garrisons into St. Andero, San Lucar, and St. Sebastian, as well as the forts on the coasts of Guipuscoa and Alava. The other was the appointment of a body guard for the king. The Spanish monarchs had never yet distrusted their subjects so far as to conceive that their safety depended on being surrounded by soldiers, and every Spaniard felt it almost as a personal insult that a guard, composed for the most part of foreigners, should be appointed for their king. The pretext for this measure was, however, found in a real or supposed plot to seize the persons of the king and queen at the festival of the holy sacrament, and thus deliver the country from the yoke of France, and declare the archduke Charles as king. The count of Leganez, a grandee of high rank and influence, was said to be at the head of this conspiracy, and was accordingly seized

by Amelot, the new French minister, and transported to France, where he died, after some years' imprisonment without any trial.

The grandees were in vain enraged at such an outrage committed against one of their order; Louis was as despotic in Spain as in France; and the discontent of the Castilian nobles found vent in fomenting the disturbances that now broke out in Catalonia.

The loss of Gibraltar had touched Philip nearly, and he resolved to regain it, but after a siege which lasted from October, 1704, to April, 1705, Tessé, the French commander, despairing of success, and being in want of every thing necessary for his operations, withdrew his troops, and attempted to defend the western frontier from Portugal, a few days after the French fleet, under admiral Pontis, had been defeated off the place.

The count of Cifuentes, a grandee of high rank, roused by the disasters of the country, and hoping that any change might be for its advantage, had gained numerous partisans for the house of Austria in Arragon, Valencia, and Andalusia, and at the same moment the duke of Savoy abandoned the Bourbon party and joined the Austrians in Italy.

A detachment of 6000 English and Portuguese, with the archduke himself, under the command of the gallant earl of Peterborough, sailed on board sir Cloudesley Shovel's fleet, to co-operate with the duke of Savoy in Italy; but by the advice of the

prince of Darmstadt the forces were landed in Catalonia. Alten and Denia first joined them, and at the latter town the archduke was proclaimed king of Spain.

The squadron then proceeded to Barcelona, and landed a body of troops to the eastward of the city. The viceroy Velasco commanded a garrison, not inferior in force to the besiegers, and the place was defended by the strong citadel of Monjuiche, which at that time was deemed impregnable. After wasting three weeks before the place and obtaining nothing, Peterborough gave orders to re-embark the battering train, and to prepare for an expedition to Naples; but the very night on which these orders were executed, he and the prince Darmstadt, while the inhabitants were rejoicing in their unexpected deliverance, led a force of 1200 foot and 200 horse by a circuitous route to the foot of the heights of Monjuiche, and after a gallant resistance from the garrison, carried the fort. The prince of Darmstadt was killed, and the governor of the citadel shared the same fate. The town shortly afterwards surrendered, and Cifuentes joined the allies. Six native regiments were raised to reinforce their army, and the spirit of disaffection to Philip had spread so widely, that the archbishop of Zaragoza could scarcely maintain the peace of that capital.

Philip, who always acted best when stimulated by extraordinary dangers, now roused himself, and proceeded at the head of his army to besiege Barce-

lona: but after overcoming almost every obstacle, and being within a few hours of success, he was disappointed by the arrival of a British and Dutch squadron with reinforcements and supplies for the town. The French and Spaniards instantly made a disorderly retreat through the Pyrenees into Rousillon. Louis now desired his grandson to retire to Paris, or at least to remain at Perpignan till a sufficient number of troops could join him to ensure his safe return to Madrid; but the king set out alone, and arrived at Pamplona, to the astonishment and delight of the remnant of his army, who began to make serious efforts to support him; but in this they were not joined by the nobles, who reproached the king with the tyranny of France, the intrigues of the court, and the general wretchedness of the country. The queen and the ministers of state were driven from Madrid, which was soon occupied by the Portuguese, to Burgos, the ancient capital, while the king continued to make every possible effort for the recovery of the eastern provinces. Toledo was the only city of consequence in the other part of Spain that took a decided part with the archduke. It was influenced by the queen dowager and the cardinal Portocarrero, who resented the young queen's dislike to him, and accordingly joined the enemies of the Bourbon court, blessed their standards, performed a solemn *Te Deum* for their success, and gave a splendid banquet, and illuminated his palace on the occasion.

But the presence of foreign armies pretending to the conquest of Spain has always had the effect of rousing the Castilians from their habitual indolence and apathy. The people rose as one man in defence of their homes. Happily the duke of Berwick was at the head of the army in the west: he speedily recovered Madrid, and forced the retreating army to take the road to Valencia, having cut off their communications with Portugal; he drove them beyond the mountains bordering on Arragon, and closed the campaign of 1706 by the recovery of Orihuela and Carthagen. At the beginning of the year all seemed to threaten the fate of Philip; and had his enemies profited by their first success, the archduke must have been king. But the faults of the invading generals on one hand, and the zeal of the Castilians on the other, gave the Bourbon party time and means to recover. In the progress from Badajos to Valencia the armies had occupied eighty-five camps, and though no general engagement took place, Berwick made ten thousand prisoners, and obtained all the advantages of victory.

In the meanwhile the duke of Marlborough had defeated Villeroy at Ramillies, and the immediate consequence was the loss of the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. Louvaine, Brussels, Ghent, Mechlin, Bruges, Antwerp, and Oudenard, surrendered at discretion, and Menin, the key of Flanders, detained the conquerors little more than

twenty days, after which the campaign closed with the reduction of Aeth and Dendermond.

In Italy the Bourbons were equally unfortunate; Vendôme, in the beginning of the year, had defeated the Imperialists, and began the siege of Turin, but just as he was on the point of taking that capital, prince Eugene arrived in Piedmont, retrieved the Austrian fortunes, their enemy was driven in disorder beyond the Alps, and Charles proclaimed sovereign of the Milanese, as a dependence of the Spanish crown.

After this event the emperor and Louis agreed on a compact of neutrality for Italy; the French troops were allowed to evacuate that country unmolested, and the Imperialists to march to Naples, of which they took possession without opposition, except at Gaeta, which was taken by storm. Sicily continued to belong to Philip, because the Austrians wanted means to convey forces to that island.

The beginning of 1707 was distinguished by the battle of Almanza, which may be said to have saved the crown of Philip. The English, Dutch, and Portuguese, together with the troops of the revolted provinces under the generals Galway and Las Minas, were entirely defeated by the duke of Berwick. All the artillery and the baggage were taken; a hundred and twenty standards were sent to Madrid; 5000 men were killed, and 12,000 made prisoners.

Berwick was immediately made a grandee of

Spain, with the title of duke of Liria and Xerica; and the town of Almanza was distinguished thenceforward by peculiar privileges.

The duke of Orleans, uncle to king Philip, now arrived in Spain to take the command of the French and Spanish armies. Arragon was speedily reduced, and on that occasion the French court of Philip V. determined that the remnant of its fine constitution should be immediately suppressed, and on the 29th June, 1707, a royal decree was published, abolishing the rights and privileges of Arragon and Valencia; first, in virtue of the king's inherent power, and, secondly, by right of conquest.

In less than a month after the victory of Almanza, the Bourbon troops had recovered all Arragon, with Valencia and Murcia, excepting the ports of Denia and Alicant; but the war still continued in Catalonia, where general Stanhope now filled the double office of ambassador to Charles and general of the English forces, and prince Staremberg was sent by the emperor Joseph to take the command of the Austrian troops. The Spanish government was reduced to still greater pecuniary distress than it had suffered before by the success of the English squadron off Carthagena, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, which took three of the great galleons and dispersed fourteen, which were expected to furnish an unusual supply of the precious metals from America.

After a short siege of Port Mahon, general Stanhope took possession of Minorca and Majorca; the count of Cifuentes gained Sardinia; and all the efforts, spirit, and talents of the duke of Orleans were insufficient to make the slightest impression in Catalonia. He consequently complained, in his letters to Versailles, that his operations were thwarted or retarded by the intrigues of the Princess Orsini and the ambassador Amelot. He was accused in return, and that not without reason, of forming designs on the crown of Spain, and corresponding with the enemies of Philip on the subject.

The fortunes of France and Spain still continued to decline, and Louis felt that peace was the only measure which could stop the progress of that ruin which menaced the house of Bourbon. Conferences were accordingly opened at the Hague, and Louis pretended that he was willing to give up the interest of Philip, at the same time his grandson himself protested that he would never quit Spain, or yield his title to its crown, and in support of that protestation he caused his son, a child of twenty months old, to be publicly acknowledged as heir to the throne.

In order to gain the support of the grandees, the princess Orsini now advised the dismissal of the French agents, and the formation of a Spanish ministry. She gained partisans for Philip by publishing the terms on which both the archduke and the duke of Orleans had agreed in order to succeed

to the Spanish throne, and which were degrading, inasmuch as they consented to the division of the kingdom. But still the poverty of the exchequer was an insuperable bar to any effective measures against the Portuguese in the west, or the allies in Catalonia, and the embarrassments of the government only increased.

The disastrous campaign of 1710 rendered Louis more desirous than ever of obtaining peace, and though his professions of abandoning his grandson were insincere, he certainly would not have scrupled to sacrifice the Spanish Netherlands and the American commerce to Holland, as the price of an advantageous peace to France.

Meantime the Austrians had gained the victories of Almenara and Zaragoza, and had once more driven the Spanish court from Madrid. This time it fled to Valladolid, and the king and queen talked of taking refuge in America, and re-establishing the empire of Mexico or Peru, rather than abandon their throne. But the Castilians once more roused themselves to defend the king; the duke of Vendome's arrival supplied their greatest want, that of a skilful general; and the imprudence of the allies facilitated the recovery of the capital.

The disasters of the allies began with their retreat; Staremburg, after a doubtful though bloody battle, at the end of which he was victor, was yet obliged to retire with the disadvantages of defeat;

and Stanhope, with a small body of English, after a desperate resistance, was taken prisoner.

The change of politics in England, which ended in the disgrace of the duke of Marlborough, was the most favourable circumstance that could have occurred for the Bourbons. No longer anxious for the great objects which king William had in view in his opposition to the ambitious views of Louis XIV., the ministers of queen Anne were ready to sacrifice the Dutch, and eager to oppose the house of Austria in order to gratify the French court, and perhaps prepare the way for the return of the Stuarts, an object which the queen was desirous of securing after the death of her son. Preliminaries of peace were signed in consequence in the autumn of 1711, by which Spain was to give up Minorca, St. Christopher's, and Gibraltar, to England, to grant her a settlement in the Rio de la Plata, to admit her to trade on the same footing as France for thirty years. Philip was, however, unwilling to accede to these proposals, nor were the Dutch much more ready; but at length their reluctance was overcome, and Utrecht was the place appointed for the several plenipotentiaries to meet. The princess Orsini secretly persuaded Philip to delay the grant of full powers to Louis, to treat for him until she should be assured of a small independent sovereignty in the Netherlands. But her opposition was overruled by Louis, and the treaty concluded.

While the negotiations were going on, the deaths of the dauphin, Philip's father, of his brother the new dauphin, and of his nephew, that dauphin's son, in 1712, seemed to open a prospect of the union of the crowns of Spain and France, and it was not without a violent struggle that Louis and his grandson consented to any measures for preventing that event. Early in the year 1713, preliminaries were signed at Radstadt between the French and imperial generals, and these were followed by a peace concluded at Baden.

In 1715, a treaty was made with Portugal, by which the Spanish frontier was secured on Philip's resigning the colony of Sacramento, at the junction of the Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata, and on Louis's abandoning his pretensions to certain districts on the borders of Brazil. But Philip had still a war in his own country to put an end to. When the British and Austrian forces withdrew from Barcelona, the despair of the Catalans induced them to take up arms, and endeavour to maintain their ancient constitution and privileges, which the English ministry had neglected to secure for them. They had been induced by the allies to rebel against Philip, and were now scandalously abandoned. Yet they were not quite hopeless of obtaining terms, if they could not establish their independence. They fortified Barcelona: it was besieged by the duke of Berwick, and after four months of desperate resistance, reduced under cir-

cumstances more dreadful than any that had occurred since the destruction of Numantia or Sanguantum. The standards of the town were publicly burnt, and the privileges of the province for ever annulled.

Such was the termination of the war of the succession, which at one time seemed to threaten the Bourbon family with total destruction, but which had ended by securing the crown of Spain to the younger branch. The queen died just as the several treaties were concluded, to the great regret of the Spaniards, whose affection for her was extreme. She left two sons, Louis and Ferdinand.

The princess Orsini, who had so long ruled Spain by means of her royal mistress, resolved to prolong her sway; and finding that she could not, as she hoped, induce Philip to place her on the vacant throne, she determined to choose a queen for him who might be as docile to her counsels as the last: she therefore fixed on the princess Elizabeth Farnese, daughter of the duke of Parma, at the suggestion of the celebrated Alberoni. The young queen shortly arrived, and the king went to meet her at Guadalaxara. The princess Orsini, resuming her office of camerera mayor, pushed on to receive her at Xadraca, four leagues beyond Guadalaxara. Her reception was very different from what she expected. The king, weary of her intrigues, and distrusting his own firmness, had

written secretly to the young queen to dismiss her ; and Elizabeth, on her first appearance, ordered her guards to remove that mad woman, who had come to insult her, and she was instantly placed in a carriage, and with only one female attendant, and two officers, was sent, in a severe winter night, to the frontier.

She disdained complaint, and forced her enemies to respect the equanimity with which she bore this reverse of fortune. She retired first to Holland, afterwards to Avignon, and at last to Rome, where she attached herself to the Stuarts, and died in the eighth year of her disgrace.

The new queen possessed a character and talents of no ordinary kind, and her influence was soon felt in the country, especially as the death of Louis XIV. which occurred shortly after her marriage, freed the court of Madrid from the French agents, who had hitherto absolutely governed it. She chose for her confidant Alberoni, whose policy was immediately opposed to that of his predecessors. His most strenuous efforts were directed to maintaining peace for the sake of the kingdom, and to procuring such alliances with England, and the other maritime powers, as should counterbalance the usurpations of France ; for this end he, with the assistance of Mr. Bubb Doddington, the English ambassador, endeavoured to frame a commercial treaty with that kingdom, and as a compliment to

the government he formally disowned the pretender, and acknowledged the protestant succession.

Alberoni's pacific measures might have succeeded but for an unforeseen incident. The inquisitor-general of Spain, returning from a journey to Rome under the safe conduct of the pope, was seized and imprisoned by the Austrian governor of Milan. Preparations were instantly made for a renewal of the war; and however reluctantly Alberoni engaged in the measure, it was no sooner decided on than he pursued it ardently. The pope conferred on him the cardinal's hat, in order to gratify Philip, and avert the consequences of hostilities in Italy, upon which the king and queen were determined, being resolved, if possible, to regain all the ancient possessions of the crown of Spain. The war, however, procured nothing but the recovery of Sardinia, while it occasioned disputes without end with all the powers in Europe, the disgrace of an unsuccessful expedition to Sicily, and the loss of a fleet, which was taken or dispersed by admiral Byng.

The personal antipathy of Philip to his two former rivals in the throne, the emperor Charles and the regent duke of Orleans, was, in fact, the occasion of his obstinate perseverance in hostilities, though pressed by England to accede to the quadruple alliance. He even degraded himself by entering into a conspiracy against the re-

gent, and thus drew on himself a war with France. Philip marched at the head of his army to oppose the French armies, but without success; the frontier towns were occupied by the enemy, and the arrangements made with Sweden and Russia against England were frustrated entirely by the death of Charles XII. of Sweden. Yet notwithstanding this want of success, the measures of Alberoni, his prudence, economy, and firmness, had in some measure redeemed Spain from the wretched state into which it had fallen during the early part of Philip's reign. The great resources of the kingdom were again called up, new fleets were built, new armies raised and disciplined, the laws were enforced, and the reign of Philip V. promised to revive the ancient splendours of the country. But the Spaniards, full of jealousy, detested Alberoni as a foreigner; his firmness, too, often withstood the wilful obstinacy of the king; the foreign ministers joined the domestic cabals against him; he lost the queen's favour; and in an evil hour for Spain, the king suddenly dismissed the most upright and able minister that, since Ximenes, had served the kings of Spain.

After the dismissal of the cardinal, the king was, though with great difficulty, persuaded to accede to the quadruple alliance, for the purpose of carrying into effect the treaty of Utrecht, but claimed, as the price of that accession, the restoration of Gibraltar; and while the correspondence on

that subject was going on, he had the gratification of gaining a decided advantage over the Moors in Africa, which secured the important place of Ceuta. Three standards taken from the infidels were presented to Our Lady of Atocha, and Philip, for the first time, attended at the celebration of an *auto da fé*, when twelve Jews and Mahomedans were burned.

Shortly after this event the marriage of the prince of Asturias, Philip's son by his first wife, with a daughter of the duke of Orleans, and that of Louis XV. with Mary Anne, a daughter of Philip and Elizabeth Farnese, were agreed on.

But Philip was now about to take a step of the most singular nature. On the 10th of January, 1724, he announced his intention of abdicating the throne, and retiring, with the queen, to the palace of St. Ildefonso, which he had constructed at an enormous expense at the little village of Balsain; five days afterwards Louis, prince of Asturias, signified his acceptance of the crown, and in about a month he was formally proclaimed. It is believed that Philip only renounced the kingdom of Spain in favour of his son, in order that he might be ready, on the death of Louis XV., whose health was so delicate that such an event seemed probable, to assert his claim to the throne of France; and as the decease of the regent duke of Orleans had delivered him from the only person capable of opposing his claims with effect, this manner of ac-

counting for his extraordinary abdication appears rational.

The short reign of Louis was entirely occupied by cabals and intrigues against him or his father. The court of Madrid was anxious that the amiable young king, whose talents and manners were highly valued by his subjects, should enjoy the reality of sovereignty; the court of St. Ildefonse, stimulated by the queen, endeavoured to retain the whole power of the kingdom, while Louis only represented the monarch. The volatile conduct of his queen, the daughter of the duke of Orleans, was another source of disquiet; and the intrigues carried on for the purpose of procuring the acknowledgment of don Carlos, the son of queen Elizabeth Farnese, as heir to the duchies of Parma and Placentia, still farther divided the government.

The death of Louis in the eighth month of his reign put an end to these domestic divisions. He fell a victim to the small-pox in the eighteenth year of his age, and his father eagerly seized the opportunity of resuming the crown, which he had only renounced in hopes of obtaining another.

The Spanish council and the Spanish church were equally averse to Philip's return to the throne; but the intrigues of the queen, who was exceedingly impatient to appear once more in her high station, overcame all obstacles, and a month after the death of his son, he quitted the retirement of St. Ildefonse, and resumed the sovereignty, as if

he had never renounced it, and caused his second son, Ferdinand, to be acknowledged as prince of Asturias. The first measures of the restored court were to disgrace all those ministers who had shown peculiar attachment to the young king, or who had manifested any jealousy of the proceedings at St. Ildefonso; but while Philip was gratifying his own and the queen's private resentment, a blow was received from an unforeseen quarter which once more kindled a foreign war. The duke of Bourbon, who had succeeded the duke of Orleans in the government of France during the minority of Louis XV., was actuated by very different views from those of his predecessor. He resolved to dissolve the contract of marriage between the young king and the infanta of Spain, and formed an alliance instead with Maria, the daughter of Stanislaus Lezinsky, king of Poland; the infanta was sent back to Spain without apology, and without explanation. This roused the anger both of Philip and his queen. The widow of Louis, and her sister Mademoiselle Beaujolais, who was betrothed to don Ferdinand, were instantly dismissed from Madrid, and sent to France. The French ministers and agents were ordered to quit the country, and it required all the vigilance of the police to prevent the people of Madrid, who felt for the personal insult offered to their sovereign, from massacring every Frenchman in that capital.

In the meanwhile, the celebrated baron Ripperda, originally a Dutchman, who had adopted Spain as his country, was engaged in a secret mission to the court of Vienna, where he was negotiating for the emperor's assistance, in a scheme for procuring the Italian duchies for don Carlos; for the marriage of that prince with one of the arch-duchesses; for a treaty of such a nature as might force England to restore Gibraltar and Minorca; and for obtaining succours from the emperor in the projected war with France. The success of this treaty was rewarded with the title of duke conferred on Ripperda, with the rank of a grandee, and with the title of marquis de la Paz bestowed on the minister Orendayn, who had conducted the correspondence. In a few months Ripperda, who had become a favourite, concentrated in himself the offices of war, marine, finance, and the Indies; besides the revision of the courts of justice. His arrogance was displayed in loud boastings. He asserted that by his ministry, the pretender should be replaced on the throne of England, the king of Prussia exiled from his kingdom, and France so divided by factions, that no aid should be obtained from thence for the enemies of Spain.

The power of Ripperda was not lasting; within a few months the conviction of his imprudence and arrogance deprived him of the favour of the court, and roused the jealousy and hatred of the people.

He saved his life by taking refuge in the house of Mr. Stanhope, the English ambassador, and there revealed the whole of the projects of Spain and Austria, against the British interests, the house of Hanover, and the French government*.

His place of prime minister was filled by don Jose Patinio, early in whose administration (1727), the Spaniards, excited by Konigseg, the imperial ambassador, besieged Gibraltar, but after a fruitless expense of blood and treasure, the *condé de Torres*, who commanded, during four months' incessant attack, raised the siege.

The next two years were occupied by repeated cabinet intrigues, fomented by the violent temper of the queen; but at length a treaty was concluded at Seville in 1729, between England, France, and Spain, by which the Italian duchies were granted to don Carlos; and the double alliance between Spain and Portugal, which had been long proposed, was carried into effect; the prince of Asturias receiving the infanta Barbara of Portugal in marriage, and the prince of Brazil in exchange marrying the infanta of Spain.

In 1731, the restless Spanish court had again

* This singular man escaped from the prison where Philip V. confined him, and attempted to build a new fortune in England; being disappointed, he retired to Holland, where he renounced the catholic faith; there by the agency of a Spanish renegado, he entered the service of Muley Abdalla, emperor of Morocco, and died at Tetuan in 1737.

changed its alliances : the two branches of the house of Bourbon were united, and Austria, and the maritime nations, made common cause against them ; but before actual hostilities began between the parties, Philip had sent a force to Africa against the town of Oran, and the fort of Massalquiver, which was successful.

The death of the king of Poland was the immediate cause of the renewal of hostilities, between the houses of Bourbon and Austria. Augustus II. had been engaged before his death in devising means to secure the crown for his son ; while the Polish nobles, jealous of the privileges of their elective monarchy, opposed him, and on his death they chose Stanislaus Lezinsky to fill the throne ; but the united arms of Austria and Russia expelled him, and forced the Poles to acknowledge Augustus III. elector of Saxony. Louis XV. took up arms to maintain the cause of his father-in-law, and formed an alliance with the kings of Sardinia and Spain to invade the dominions of Austria, in 1733. Don Carlos, immediately declaring himself of age, assumed the government of Parma, and placed himself at the head of the Spanish forces in Italy.

The result of this war to France was the acquisition of Lorraine and Bar, and to don Carlos that of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Stanislaus renounced the kingdom of Poland, but re-

tained the title of king, and received for life the duchy of Lorraine, which was to revert to France. Tuscany was entailed on the duke of Lorraine, and Parma and Placentia were given to the emperor, in lieu of Naples and Sicily. The preliminaries of the treaty for this settlement were concluded by La Beaume, a secret agent of France, at Vienna, without the consent or even the knowledge of the court of Spain. The queen's rage was unbounded. She had confidently flattered herself with obtaining a principality in the north of Italy, for her younger son Philip, upon don Carlos taking possession of Naples. But at length Spain was forced to sign the definitive treaty of Vienna, in 1740, when don Carlos received the solemn investiture of the two Sicilies from the pope; and Tuscany was occupied by Francis duke of Lorraine, who had married the archduchess, Maria Theresa, and who on that occasion ceded Lorraine to France.

A few months before the accession of Spain to the treaty of Vienna, the ministers of Philip, and those of England, had executed a convention advantageous to both parties, on the subject of commerce, at the Pardo. But, in the meantime, the conduct of the Spanish governors of the American provinces continued to be so tyrannical and cruel to those strangers who attempted to carry on any traffic there, that the whole English nation loudly demanded justice. The minister, Sir Robert Wal-

pole, was obliged to give way to the popular feeling, and a squadron was sent under the command of admiral Haddock, to Gibraltar, with a view of either forcing Philip to make compensation for the injuries complained of, or to protect that place in case of hostilities. The Spaniards retaliated the charge of cruelty. War on this subject was as popular in Spain as in England, and formal declarations of the commencement of hostilities were accordingly issued by both governments. The first advantage gained was on the side of England, whose fleet under the "brave and happy Vernon*," took Porto Bello, and demolished the neighbouring forts, and was soon joined by twenty-one ships under Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a body of 9000 men under lord Cathcart, on whose death at Jamaica, general Wentworth succeeded to the command. This armament was intended against the settlements in the gulf of Mexico, while commodore Anson was despatched with three ships to watch the coasts of Peru and Chile, and establish a communication across the Isthmus of Darien by the capture of Panama.

Fortunately for Spain, the delays incident to seasons and climate detained the grand fleet till the rainy season, and the appearance of a French squadron in the West Indies occasioned a farther

* See the ballad of "Hosier's Ghost," where the popular feeling in England against the previous pacific measures of Walpole is strongly expressed.

delay, till the Spaniards had completed their fortifications at Carthagena, and other places, under the inspection of don Sebastian, marquis de Eslava, and viceroy of New Grenada. The unhealthiness of the climate proved a powerful auxiliary to the Spanish governor, and after performing some actions worthy of the high reputation of British valour, Vernon was obliged to retire with the remnant of the wasted army to Jamaica. A subsequent attempt on the island of Cuba likewise failed. The unfortunate disagreement between the land and sea officers occasioned the greatest disasters. The combined fleets of France and Spain succeeded in protecting the Spanish commerce, and the English fleet and army were almost ruined.

Anson had been more fortunate, though his little squadron suffered severely from storms and sickness. He plundered the rich town of Paita, and took the great Acapulco ship, Nuestra Senora de Covadonga, the richest prize ever brought to England, the severest loss to Spain in money she had ever incurred at one time.

In the meantime, the death of the emperor Charles VI. without sons gave occasion to a new war. The courts of Paris and Madrid eagerly seized the occasion to overthrow the house of Austria. Charles's eldest daughter Maria Theresa was only twenty-three years of age, without experience and without any efficient minister to

guard her councils, or conduct her affairs. The elector of Bavaria protested against her assumption of the government, in which protest he was encouraged by the kings of France and Spain; the elector palatine, and the king of Poland, joined them, and the king of Prussia thinking the occasion favourable, suddenly invaded Silesia. The elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, pretended to the imperial crown, and was supported by Louis XV. Maria Theresa, who was already crowned queen of Hungary, having withdrawn her forces from the Milanese, to defend her hereditary kingdom, Philip V. resolved to seize on that duchy as a settlement for his youngest son. But Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, not wishing to see a second Spanish state erected in Italy, was no sooner aware of Philip's views, than he made a treaty with Maria Theresa, for the prevention of all intruders into Italy. He accordingly joined the Austrian troops, and gave a decided check to the Spanish general Montemar, who in conjunction with the Neapolitans had attacked Lombardy. At the same time a British fleet appeared off Naples, and demanded a promise in writing of a strict neutrality, under pain of an immediate bombardment of the city. Montemar was succeeded by Gages, whose success was little better than that of his predecessor.

In 1744, the king of France signed a secret treaty with Spain, by which they engaged to set

the pretender on the English throne, and to support him with their whole naval and part of their military force: 15,000 men, with the prince, under marshal Saxe, were to be landed in Britain, and as there had been no declaration of war on the part of France, it was hoped England would not be prepared. The design was frustrated by a violent storm, which dispersed the French fleets, but it led to an action in the Mediterranean between the British and combined squadrons, in which admiral Mathews not being properly supported by his colleague Lestoch, the victory was undecided. Jealousy however had arisen between the Spanish and French commanders of such a nature that the fleets of the two nations could not be brought to act in concert during the remainder of the war.

The infant don Philip made a successful campaign in Lombardy, in the year 1745; but he lost almost all his advantages during the next year, and the means of France being too much exhausted by the war with Austria to permit Louis to give him effectual assistance, he was obliged to content himself for the present with claiming the duchies, which his mother considered as her patrimony.

In the midst of this war Philip V. died of apoplexy, on the 6th of July, 1746, in the 63rd year of his age, and the 46th of his reign. He certainly left the kingdom in a better state than he found it. After the death of Louis XIV., and the consequent liberation of the government from the

trammels in which that monarch had kept it, several ministers of great talents, at the head of which we should place Alberoni, had directed their views to the true interests of the country, and to repair if possible the mischief done by the expulsion of the Moors, and the consequent decline of agriculture and manufactures.

Philip's first wife was Maria Louisa, princess of Savoy: by her he had two sons, Luis, who occupied the throne for eight months during his father's temporary abdication, and Ferdinand, who succeeded him.

His second wife was Elizabeth Farnese, princess of Parma.

Her eldest son Charles became king of the two Sicilies, in 1735, and succeeded his brother Ferdinand in Spain, 1759.

Her second son Philip married Louisa, daughter of Louis XV., and was duke of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. His son Ferdinand married the archduchess Maria Amelia, and of his two daughters, the eldest married the emperor Joseph II., and the youngest, Charles IV. king of Spain.

Louis Antony, the youngest son of Philip V., was the father of the cardinal of Bourbon, who was one of the regency in 1814, and of the wife of Godoy, prince of peace.

Philip V.'s eldest daughter married Joseph king of Portugal, and his youngest, Victor Amadeus II., king of Sardinia.

*Costume—Seville.*

Spain, as has been already noticed, began to recover from the state of poverty and depopulation, into which she had fallen, under what may be called the second or Spanish part of the reign of Philip V.

The people of Biscay had long carried on an extensive contraband trade, to the injury of the rest of the kingdom, under pretence of their peculiar privileges of trading in the productions of their own province duty free. This irregularity was one of the first evils Alberoni removed in his extensive improvements of the commerce of the state; he next sought to abolish the ancient divisions of the several kingdoms, in order to diminish the spirit of party, which led often to civil war; and one of his

measures for that purpose was the removal of most of the inland customhouses to the frontier, and giving full liberty to interior traffic and communication. The municipal taxes of the kingdom of Valencia were abolished; the royal monopoly of strong liquors was commuted for a tax on the inland consumption of fish, and the free export of wine was allowed. Advantageous regulations were made for the trade of America, the Canaries, and other dependencies of the crown, and the Acapulco ship to trade between the western coast of America and the Philippines was established.

An attempt was made to introduce the art of making crystal and glass; an office was set up for the printing religious books, which had hitherto been imported from Antwerp. A royal manufacture of linen and another of woollen cloths were established at Guadalaxara; and for these purposes artificers and tools were procured from England and Holland. Measures were taken for ascertaining the state, productions, and resources of the kingdom: intelligent engineers were employed to survey the country. The sea-ports were improved, the growth of hemp was encouraged, rope walks, and magazines for naval and military stores were established, and an academy for five hundred naval students was founded at Cadiz. The Moorish manufactures of small arms were revived, and a cannon foundery established.

Ripperda, though far below Alberoni in talents

and character, was yet highly useful in forwarding these and other measures of public utility, and though the ministry of Patinio was full of troubles that occupied him too constantly to attend to fresh establishments, he encouraged and improved those already in existence.

During the reign of Philip V. the royal library, which is open to the public, was founded. The academy for preserving the purity of the Castilian language was established, as also the academy of San Fernando for sculpture and painting, and that of history, which originated in a society of individuals, was incorporated in 1738. The object of that academy was to preserve and illustrate the historical monuments of the kingdom.



Costume—Andalusia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FERDINAND VI., 1746,
TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES III., 1788.



Costume—Madrid.

THE accession of Ferdinand VI. was hailed by a numerous party in Spain as the signal for the disgrace of his stepmother, who had made herself odious by her overbearing and violent conduct; but he showed himself superior to any base feelings, by continuing the same respectful behaviour

he had practised in his father's lifetime, and she continued to enjoy the use of St. Ildefonse and of the palace of Madrid, as before. She also endeavoured to take a part in public affairs, but the first attempt of the kind was punished by her removal from Madrid, and by the disgrace of the minister who presumed to act on her authority without the knowledge of the king, and she continued during Ferdinand's reign to lead a life of quiet seclusion.

The character of Ferdinand may be understood in its best light by his common designation, "A prince who was guilty of no untruth." He was convinced that peace was essentially necessary to the recovery and prosperity of Spain, and resolved to procure it by all honourable means. His temper was docile, though subject to occasional starts of passion, and he was subject to the same hypochondriac malady which had afflicted his father. He was more indolent than Philip, more easily governed, and possessed fewer resources against his malady within himself. His only enjoyments were the chase and music, of which he was passionately fond.

The queen was of a gentle, tender character, devoted to her husband, and equally desirous of peace with himself; subject also to occasional fits of melancholy, from which she was best diverted by music. She possessed great and deserved influence over Ferdinand, but was extremely deli-

cate in using it. The prime minister, Ensenada*, was a man of humble origin, but of great learning and abilities. He had been employed by don Jose Patinio, who was attracted by the extraordinary talents he had displayed in one of the inferior offices of the marine department.

The minister for foreign affairs was don Jose de Carvajal, a younger son of the condé de Linares, who possessed strong judgment and a cultivated understanding. He was remarkable for a rigid adherence to truth, preferred the English to the French politics, and prided himself on his descent from the house of Lancaster. But one of the most remarkable men at the court of Ferdinand VI. was Carlo Broschi, surnamed Farinelli, a Neapolitan singer, who had amassed a considerable fortune by his engagements with the London opera house. He was first invited to Madrid by Elizabeth Farnese to divert the melancholy of Philip V. and afterwards became the chief favourite both of that king and his successor, who honoured him with the cross of Calatrava, in addition to his pension of two thousand pounds *per annum*. As no man of his class ever enjoyed a greater portion of court favour, none ever deserved it more. He was above temptation, and refused even presents

* His name was Zeno Somo de Villa. He affected humility, and when the title of Marquis was conferred on him, he chose the name Ensenada, i. e. *En se nada*, nothing in itself.

that he might have accepted, lest they should subject him to the imputation of receiving bribes for his interest with the queen.

The first event of consequence in Ferdinand's reign was the general peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748, but begun at Breda some time before, the chief parties to which were England, Holland, France, Spain, Austria, and the king of Sardinia. The next was the conclusion of a commercial treaty with England, two years afterwards, by which the British were admitted to trade with the Spanish colonies on the same footing as native Spaniards, or the most favoured nations; and England accepted the sum of 100,000*l.* as a compensation for the claims of the South Sea Company on the Spanish crown.

In the same year, 1750, a treaty was concluded with Portugal, by which she ceded the colony of Sacramento, which had been so long a subject of contention to Spain, in return for the seven missions of the Jesuits on the banks of the Uruguay, and the province of Tuy, in Galicia. The Jesuits, of course, opposed this design, and at their instigation 15,000 Indians assembled to oppose the transfer of the missions, which only ended in the destruction of the greater number of those ill-treated people. The death of John V. of Portugal, and the accession of Joseph, whose minister was the enterprising Carvalho, afterwards marquis of Pombal, prevented

the fulfilment of the treaty, and Sacramento became the subject of future contentions.

The court of Madrid became, from this time, a sort of stage on which the French ambassador, then the duke of Duras, and the English minister, Mr. Keene, struggled for victory in negotiation; Ensenada favouring the French but covertly, and with great professions towards England, and Carvajal openly and heartily concurring with Mr. Keene.

The Spanish ambassador at the court of St. James's was at that time general Wall, an Irish catholic, in the service of Spain, and much attached to the English interests.

The death of the upright Carvajal, in 1754, seemed to threaten the cause of England in Spain; but the duke of Huescar, afterwards duke of Alva, who was called to fill his office, until general Wall should arrive from London to assume it permanently, had a decided dislike to France, and a contempt for Ensenada, on account of his vanity rather than his mean birth, who kept his place at this time through the friendship of Farinelli, who pleaded for him to the queen.

But Mr. Keene having positive proof that Ensenada had given orders, on his own responsibility, to the Spanish governors in America, to attack and destroy the English settlements on the Mosquito shore, his disgrace immediately followed, and he was banished to Grenada. His talents were great,

and to him Spain owes many useful establishments, but his blind partiality to France led him into schemes mischievous to the country and destructive to himself. But he had left behind him, at court, Farinelli and other dependants, who did not suffer his principles to die with his ministry; a constant bickering was kept up among the ministers, and on the breaking out of the war between France and England, the contest between the two parties in Ferdinand's court became more open and more violent than ever. That of England suffered extremely from the death of sir Benjamin Keene, whose long and intimate acquaintance with the country and the court of Spain rendered his services peculiarly important. The earl of Bristol was his successor.

The queen of Spain did not long survive the British minister. In August, 1758, she fell a victim to the hypochondriac malady which had long afflicted her, to the inexpressible grief of the king.

Even during her illness, and some months before her death, the foreign ministers had been speculating on supplying her place, but Ferdinand's affection for her was too great to allow him to listen to any of their proposals.

After her death he shut himself up in the palace of Villa Viciosa, refused to attend to the business of state, and deprived himself of food and rest. At length, in August of the following year (1759), he

died in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

He was a prince of little capacity, but of upright intentions and a peaceful disposition. He had the merit of relieving Spain from a very vexatious part of the papal jurisdiction, which enabled the pope to fill the great benefices with foreigners. He employed the abbot Figueroa to frame a concordat, by which his holiness resigned that and other claims, in consideration of a yearly pension.

The French court, as soon as the death of Ferdinand appeared inevitable, of necessity abandoned the project of filling the late queen's place by one of the princesses of France *; but desirous of regaining the same influence enjoyed by Louis XIV. in Spain, a scheme was formed for placing the infant don Philip, duke of Parma, on the throne, whose known attachment to France would, it was expected, render him subservient to the views of that court. Timely notice was, however, given to don Carlos, king of Naples, and the scheme was frustrated. On receiving the intelligence of Ferdinand's death, don Carlos, king of Naples, assumed the title of king of Spain, but he deferred his departure for that country until he should have arranged the succession to the crown of Naples.

By the peace of Vienna the Two Sicilies were

* Madame Victoire.

settled on Charles, on condition that they should always remain separate from Spain. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, however, the duchies of Parma and Placentia were assigned to don Philip, with the reservation, that if Charles should be called to the throne of Spain, Philip should succeed him in Naples, Parma and Guastella should revert to the house of Austria, and Placentia be ceded to the king of Sardinia. Charles had invariably opposed this settlement; and fortunately, at this juncture, France and Vienna being engaged in war with England and Prussia, could not attempt to force its performance, and the king of Sardinia was content to receive a compensation for his claims in money.

Don Philip, the eldest son of Charles, had been subject to epileptic fits from his infancy, and had consequently become an idiot, without the smallest hope of recovery; for which reason Charles resolved to set him aside, and to make his second son, Charles, heir to the throne of Spain, and place the crown of the Sicilies on the head of his third son Ferdinand. To obviate all future disputes, he gave the greatest publicity to these transactions. He summoned all the ministers and barons, the deputies of cities, and the foreign ambassadors, and seated himself on his throne, and exercised his authority by distributing the orders of the Golden Fleece and of St. Januarius. He then caused the decree, fixing the succession, to be formally proclaimed, after which he signed and sealed it in the presence of the assembly.

Having done this, he presented his sword to Ferdinand, saying, "Louis XIV., king of France, gave this sword to Philip V., your grandfather: I received it from him, and now resign it to you, for the defence of your religion and your subjects." The usual homage was then paid to the new sovereign, and Charles appointed a regency, with the marquis Tamucci as chief, to administer the government during his son's minority. The same evening he embarked with his family. On his way to the shore the people crowded to take leave of him; for he was as much beloved as he deserved, on account of the benefits his reign had brought to Naples, which, instead of being only the neglected capital of a distant province, had once more regained the station it used to fill among the cities of Italy.

Sixteen ships of the line accompanied Charles to Barcelona, where he landed in November, 1759. His mother, Elizabeth Farnese, had exercised the regency during the few months that had elapsed since the death of his brother.

Charles retained most of the ministers of Ferdinand VI., but exiled Farinelli, though he continued his pension. His new ministers were the marquis Squilaci, to whom he intrusted the care of the finances, and the duke of Losada. He immediately adopted measures for paying his father's debts, and then turned his attention to the revival of agriculture throughout the kingdom. He did not receive the homage of his subjects, nor take his coronation

oaths, until July, 1760, when his son Charles was also acknowledged prince of Asturias, and the ceremonies were concluded with the national spectacle of a bull-feast.

Charles III. had never forgiven England for forcing Naples to maintain its neutrality during the seven years' war. He was, moreover, alarmed at the prosperous state of that nation, and the disasters of France, at the time of his accession to the Spanish crown. The English fleets under Rodney, Boys, Hawke, and Boscawen, had annihilated the navy of Louis. In India the French had lost Pondicherry, and the rest of their settlements; in America the victories of Quebec and Montreal had deprived them of Canada; Guádaloupe in the West Indies; and Goree and Senegal, on the African coast, were also lost to them; and their only remaining hope was in persuading Spain to join them in the war, or to conclude a peace with the new ministers of the young king George III., who had succeeded to the crown a few months after Charles's arrival in Spain.

In the latter hope they were disappointed; but the Bourbon influence in Spain was soon felt and obeyed. The celebrated family compact was framed by which the kings of France and Spain agreed, *for the future, to consider every power as their enemy who should become the enemy of either*; and no proposal of peace was to be made or accepted, unless by common consent.

The consequence of this contract, and of the circumstances attending its conclusion, was, that the British ambassador left the court of Madrid, and a declaration of war immediately followed his recall.

France and Spain immediately attacked Portugal, as the ally of England; and the war, which had for a moment been suspended by negotiation, was resumed with vigour.

The first disaster Spain suffered, in consequence of her alliance with France, was the loss of the *Havannah*. A squadron of twelve men of war and four frigates, under the marquis de Real Transporte, was collected at that station to defend it; the garrison amounted to 4600 regular troops, and every means was taken by the governor, don Louis Velasco, to secure that important place. But an English fleet of twenty-nine sail, under admiral Pococke, with a body of 14,000 soldiers, under lord Albemarle, carried the fort on the 30th July, 1762, after upwards of fifty days' desperate attack; the gallant Velasco and the second in command fell, one in the breach, the other as the English entered the citadel. The city held out fourteen days more, but at length capitulated on the most honourable terms. Nine hundred men, the remnant of the garrison, were to be sent to Spain. The internal government and the religion were to be maintained, and all persons to be treated as became their quality.

The English were now in possession of the Havana, with a district of 180 miles westward, and 3,000,000*l.* in public property, nine sail of the line, three frigates, and a quantity of naval and military stores.

In the East, Manilla, the capital of Luconia, was captured by a force from Madras, under Sir William Draper. The town was admirably defended by the archbishop, who at length ransomed it for 2,000,000 of dollars, and an assignment of the same sum upon the Spanish treasury, and this success was shortly followed by the capture of the Manilla ship, the Santissima Trinidad, valued at 3,000,000 of dollars.

The only compensation for these heavy losses was the capture of the Portuguese colony of Sacramento, where British and Portuguese property to the amount of 4,000,000*l.* was seized.

In Europe the first campaign of Spain into Portugal was successful. Lisbon had not recovered from the effects of the terrible earthquake of 1755. The country was not yet quieted since the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the execution of the noblemen * who had conspired against the king, had nearly caused a civil war. It is not, therefore, surprising,

* One night, at eleven o'clock, as the king was riding to Lisbon from one of his country-houses, attended only by his valet, he was shot at. The conspirators were discovered, and ten of them executed; among whom were the marquis Tavora, his wife and son, the duke d'Aveiro, and the count d'Atognia. Three Jesuits, Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, were seized and imprisoned.

that the Spanish forces, under the marquis of Soria, should have found little resistance; and, seizing Braganza, Miranda, and Torre Moncorvo, should have spread alarm even to Oporto. There, however, their progress was arrested by the militia and peasantry; and shortly afterwards supplies and succours arrived from England with the count La Lippe, a distinguished German officer. When he arrived the Spaniards were engaged at the siege of Almeida, in which they succeeded; but a division of La Lippe's army, under general Burgoyne, surprised and captured a Spanish detachment, destroyed a quantity of arms and stores, and baffled the plan of the Spanish general d'Aranda, for forming magazines for supplies along the line he meant to take. D'Aranda next endeavoured to cross the Tagus into Alemtejo, but La Lippe placed his force at Abrantes, and sent detachments to Alvete and Neza to obstruct the passage of the river, and finally obliged the Spaniards to fall back within their own frontier.

The court of Spain now became sensible of the extreme evil consequence of the offensive union with France; the resources of the kingdom appeared entirely exhausted, the Spanish ships and colonies were destroyed, the treasure ships were seized, and the frontier threatened by an enemy exasperated by recent injuries. In this crisis the affectionate loyalty of the Spaniards was called forth, and they offered their persons, their goods, and their lives

for the service of the country and the honour of the crown. But the king was sensible of the necessity of peace, and, as well as France, which was reduced to almost as great poverty, began sincerely to wish it.

The pacific disposition of lord Bute inclined him to listen readily to their proposals. He had already offered his mediation to Austria and Prussia, and he sent the duke of Bedford to Paris, while the duke de Nivernois was deputed to London to negotiate a peace.

A definitive treaty was accordingly signed in the French capital in February, 1763, by which the British conquests were ceded to Spain, in exchange for Florida and the countries to the eastward and southward of the Mississippi. Spain also formally renounced all claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and acknowledged the right of British subjects to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras, but stipulated for the dismantling of their forts. The colony of Sacramento was also to be restored to Portugal, and the Spanish and French troops immediately withdrawn from that country.

Lord Rochfort was the new ambassador to Madrid. He found general Wall on the eve of retiring from the ministry, and his place was soon supplied by the marquis Grimaldi, a native of Genoa, but a most enthusiastic lover of France, and French policy. Under him the family compact was strengthened by every possible means,

particularly by the intermarriages of the different branches of the Bourbons.

In Paris the duke de Choiseul, the inveterate enemy of England, notwithstanding the recent treaty, incessantly directed his efforts in hostility to that country, and projected, in concert with Grimaldi, a new offensive alliance against it; and in the meantime, with the concurrence of the Spanish minister, although the countries were then at peace, sent French engineers and others to Plymouth and Portsmouth, for the purpose of burning the English yards and arsenals. But the poverty of Spain still forced Charles to maintain the peace with England and Portugal, though contrary to the designs of his minister.

The malversations of the governors and viceroys in America had long been the subject of complaint. The net return to the treasury from the four provinces, Peru, Chile, Mexico, and Terra Firma, did not exceed 160,000*l.* annually. Hence the extent of the abuses were inferred: a reformation was therefore projected. Carasco, the fiscal of Castile, drew up the plan, and its execution in Mexico was intrusted to don Andres de Galvez, whose authority was supported by a detachment of 2000 men, under don Juan de Vilhaba. But the Mexicans broke out into open revolt at Los Angeles, where the inhabitants are descended from the ancient Tlascalans; the troops were routed, and the custom-houses destroyed. The other vice-

royalties followed the example. In Quito the people expelled the royal officers, and offered the sovereignty to one of their own body, declaring they would pay the same sum to the revenue, on condition that they had no Spanish governors. The cabinet of Madrid abandoned the proposed measures, and for the present the tumult subsided.

An attempt to impose a new tax on tobacco produced a revolt in Cuba, where the populace destroyed great quantities of the plant, and were long before they could be reduced to order.

But an insurrection of a more dangerous character soon occurred to alarm Charles. It arose from the natural jealousy of the Spanish grandees against the two foreign ministers, who exercised the whole power of the state. The populace were indeed the apparent actors, their fury was directed against Squilacci, and the occasion was the decree prohibiting the flapped hats and long cloaks, the national dress of the Castilians*. On Palm-Sunday, 1766, the populace rose, assaulted his house, and not finding him ran through the streets, crying out, "Spain for ever! long live the king! die Squilacci!" yet they injured none but the Walloon guards, who attempted to restore order. They also used the popular cry, "Perish France! England for ever! Peace with England, war with all the world!" Many messages passed between

* Squilacci had caused the streets of Madrid to be cleaned and lighted with 5000 lamps, and had prohibited concealed weapons.

the king and the insurgents, who demanded Squilacci's head, and this continued till three o'clock in the afternoon. When the king appeared at the balcony of the palace, and promised to dismiss Squilacci and appoint a Spaniard as his successor, to repeal the edict concerning the hats and cloaks, to reduce the price of bread, oil, soap, and bacon*, to suppress the monopoly, and to pardon the insurgents, a friar with an uplifted crucifix repeated the several articles, and the king approved of each. Before night the city was as quiet as if no insurrection had occurred.

But the terrors of the king and royal family renewed the disorders. They fled in the middle of the night to Aranjuez. As soon as this was known, the people conceiving it to be a breach of the treaty, re-assembled, seized the arms of the guards, shut the city gates, and permitted no one to go out, and for forty-eight hours the capital was at their mercy. Yet they entered no houses but the taverns, fired only blank cartridges, and committed no violence except on the dead bodies of the Walloons, killed in the first day's tumult, which they insulted and burned.

One of the leaders, a coachmaker, went to Aranjuez with an open letter to the king, to insist on his return, and the dismissal of the obnoxious minister. The answer was addressed to the council.

* These articles were a royal monopoly, and their prices had lately risen suddenly.

of Castile. It declared that the king was too ill to return immediately, announced the dismissal of Squilacci*, and the appointment of don Michael Musquiz, and renewed the former promises. The populace immediately dispersed, returned the arms to the soldiers, and in a few hours Madrid was tranquil, the expenses of the people at the taverns were liberally paid by their chiefs, and no Spaniard had to complain of loss or insult.

This insurrection deeply affected Charles, whose personal regard for the ex-minister was extreme. Besides, the regularity with which it had been conducted, and the tranquillity with which the nobles looked on, persuaded him that it had been the effect of intrigues among persons of consequence. He first suspected the French, then the Jesuits, and lastly some of his courtiers. General count d'Aranda was summoned to the capital, to restore tranquillity, and a body of 10,000 troops were drawn near.

Considerable discontent still prevailed, offensive placards were affixed to the walls of the very palace, and among others the famous one against the Walloon guards:

“ Si entraron los Vallones,
Ne reynaron los Borbonea.”

“ If the Walloons enter, the Bourbons shall not reign.”

The king remained at Aranjuez for eight months,

* Squilacci and his family embarked immediately for Italy.

when, the disturbances being quieted, he returned to Madrid.

The year 1767 is marked by one of the most singular events recorded in history, the expulsion of the Jesuits. That powerful body of men, who owed their existence to Ignatius Loyola, had obtained an influence over their fellow-creatures scarcely credible. They were almost the monopolists of the education of youth, and their talents and conduct had in general rendered every pupil a friend. But they had also obtained possession of most of the confessional chairs. There was scarcely a crowned head, or a noble family, but had one of the fathers as a spiritual director; and they had yielded to the temptation thereby afforded them, of mingling in and often controlling political events. In South America they had literally formed a sovereignty; the missions of Paraguay were theirs as absolutely as the crown of Spain belonged to Charles. They made use of the riches derived from the drugs and raw materials of that fruitful country to carry on an extensive traffic for the benefit of their order, and so important did they deem this possession that they were the authors of the insurrection, that opposed the exchange of the seven missions for Sacramento.

This circumstance among others drew on them the hatred of Pombal, the Portuguese minister. The royal confessors were arrested, and the other Jesuits forbidden to appear at court. They were

implicated in the memorable attempt to assassinate the king, and in a single day they were all arrested throughout Portugal, their property was confiscated, and they were transported as prisoners to Italy, and turned ashore on the states of the church. This daring act of Pombal's encouraged Choiseul, the French minister, whose dislike to them was even greater, for there was a personal resentment in it, to resolve on procuring their expulsion from France and Spain. The chief obstacle lay in the religious character of Charles. But circumstances were not wanting to weaken their interest with him. By undoubted documents it was proved that father Ravago, the confessor of Ferdinand VI., had encouraged the fathers of the missions in their rebellion. Reports were made of their interference with the regular trade in America, and finally they were accused of having fomented the late disturbances in the capital. This last consideration determined the king against them. The measures for their expulsion were concerted by Charles and the minister Aranda alone, and that no suspicion might arise from sending for an inkstand to the royal cabinet, Aranda carried one himself in his pocket, for the purpose of obtaining the king's order. Charles wrote and directed with his own hand circular letters to the governors of the different provinces, which they were to open at a particular hour and in a particular place.

When the hour arrived, the six colleges of the Jesuits at Madrid were surrounded at midnight by

officers of the police, followed by troops, who first secured the bells, and placed a sentinel at the door of each cell; the rector was commanded to assemble the community, and the royal decree of expulsion was read. Each member was permitted to take his breviary, linen, chocolate, snuff, a few other conveniences, and his money. They were then led by tens to the place where carriages were collected for their conveyance, each carriage was escorted by two dragoons, and they were thus taken to the coast. Their servants were guarded for some time and then liberated. The transports, under convoy of several frigates, proceeded to Civita Vecchia; but there, the governor having no orders to receive them, the Jesuits, many of whom were aged and infirm men, crowded together in transports like criminals, suffered dreadfully from the intense heat. Many perished; but those who survived were landed in Corsica, where they dragged out their existence on the allowance made them by the king of Spain*.

The Jesuits were expelled in the same manner in a single day from all the Spanish settlements in America. And however certain the good of their expulsion may be in Europe, it is to be doubted whether the removal of those enlightened and zealous men was not a serious evil in the distant colonies, where they stood between the tyrants and their victims, and on all occasions aided and fostered the natives of the country.

* About one shilling a-day.

The next ten years of Charles's reign were chiefly taken up with domestic affairs. Some effectual restrictions were placed on the interference of the court of Rome, with the internal regulations of the Spanish church; the coin, which had become extremely base, was reformed; and the state of the country, on the whole, improved. The highly-gifted minister d'Aranda had resigned, and Ensenada had retired, but left as his successor the no less celebrated Florida Blanca.

But now the war between England and her colonies in America attracted the attention of all Europe. France had long taken part against the mother country, and at length induced Spain to join her. The first object of Charles and his ally was the invasion of England. Their combined force consisted of sixty-eight sail of the line, besides frigates and other small vessels. But disputes arose between their officers; they sailed up and down the Channel till their numbers were reduced by sickness, and they were forced to take shelter in Brest.

In the meantime Gibraltar was invested by land and sea, and the garrison was reduced to such distress that the Spaniards looked daily for its surrender; but lord Rodney, with twenty sail, had left England for its relief. On his way he captured a convoy of fifteen sail, with a sixty-four gun ship and four frigates, laden with naval stores for Cadiz, and the prizes augmented the supplies destined for Gibraltar. Nor was this his only success: on the

16th of January, 1780, after a fight of eight hours, wherein the Spanish admiral Langara behaved with extraordinary skill and courage, he took six line of battle ships, one other had blown up early in the action, and two had been driven ashore.

From this blow the Spanish navy did not recover during the war. Gibraltar and Minorca were relieved, and Rodney sailed to the West Indies, where his career was equally successful.

Very shortly afterwards, however, Florida Blanca having intelligence that the English East and West India fleets, under a very weak convoy, were daily expected, sent out a fleet to intercept them. They were taken, and prizes to the value of 2,000,000*l*. sterling were carried into Cadiz.

In America the Spanish arms had been successful. Don Bernardo Galvez had succeeded in gaining possession of the whole of West Florida, and the governor of Yucatan had plundered St. George's Key, the principal establishment of the British settlers in the bay of Honduras, and was proceeding to attack their other forts, when a small squadron, chiefly consisting of boats and tenders, brought succours from Jamaica; with these the settlers united themselves, and scaled the fort of San Fernando de Omoa, in whose little harbour some valuable ships had taken refuge.

The designs of Spain and France against Jamaica, and the rest of the British West Indies, were completely frustrated by Rodney's victory over the count de Grasse off Saint Lucie, on the

12th April, 1782, and the great preparations made both in Europe and the Spanish West Indies were rendered useless, or served at most to make petty conquests of little importance to either the gainers or the losers.

But the Spanish forces in Europe had succeeded, after the long and memorable siege of San Philippe, the principal fortress, in recovering the island of Minorca; and, encouraged by that success, the siege of Gibraltar was undertaken.

For four years the attention of all Europe was turned to that memorable siege. Various plans of attack were framed by the best Spanish and French engineers. The perseverance of General Elliot, and of the garrison of 7000 veterans, overcame every effort of the Bourbon arms. The lines of San Roque were insulted by sorties from the place; their floating batteries, mounting 142 guns, were burned the first day they were used; and the wretched sufferers were saved from the double peril of fire and of water by the humanity of the victors. In the face of the combined French and Spanish fleets, which amounted to forty-seven sail of the line, several frigates, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships, lord Howe, with thirty ships, and embarrassed with a fleet of transports, threw men, ammunition, and provisions, into the place, without the loss of a man. And the cessation of hostilities relieved the garrison, which had so successfully defended the important fortress intrusted to it.

The peace of 1783 was not concluded without

considerable difficulties on the part of Spain. King Charles appears to have had nothing so much at heart as the recovery of all the former possessions of Spain, especially Gibraltar, and he insisted on this so peremptorily as almost to engage in a renewal of the war. But it was a condition the English would not hear of, and he was obliged to be contented with the restoration of Minorca and of the two Floridas.

This war, undertaken far more to gratify France than from any interest in the success of the American states, cost Spain ten millions sterling, besides the loss of twenty-one ships of the line, and numerous smaller vessels, while England, which the Bourbons hoped to ruin, rose more vigorous after her long warfare.

The king of Spain had other reasons to regret his joining in the war of the American states against the mother country. Her own colonies were not slow to follow the example, and had any foreign power been found to protect and assist the insurgents of Peru, at that time commanded by the inca Tupacamara, the period of South American freedom would have been hastened by five and twenty years.

The misgovernment of the viceroys, and the attempt to levy an extraordinary tax, produced the first insurrection, and it had rapidly spread, even to New Grenada and Mexico. But the peace in Europe gave Charles leisure to attend to the affairs of America, and Tupacamara's party was entirely crushed.

The interval between the conclusion of peace and the death of Charles was employed chiefly in negotiations, some of which were again directed to his darling object the recovery of Gibraltar. Others entered into with Portugal respected a stricter alliance between the families of Bourbon and Braganza. The infant of Portugal, don John, afterwards John VI., married Charles's grand-daughter Carlotta, and his son don Gabriel married the sister of don John, whose son marrying one of his cousins of Portugal, farther strengthened the union.

The pirates of the African ports had been repeatedly checked by the fleets of Spain; Algiers was twice bombarded; but at length treaties were concluded with all the Mahometan states, from Constantinople to the western parts of Barbary; and a Turkish ambassador first appeared at the court of Madrid towards the end of this reign.

Charles III. died in 1788, in the 73d year of his age and the 19th of his reign. He was by no means deficient in abilities, was a perfect master of his temper and his countenance, and irreproachable in his morals. His passion for the chase was excessive. He abstained from it only three days in the year, and boasted that he had killed 539 wolves and 5323 foxes with his own hand. He was of middling stature, and of a strong constitution; his features were coarse, but his countenance benevolent and kind, and his manners courteous and obliging.

He was only once married; his wife was Amelia, princess of Saxony, by whom he had thirteen children.

Philip Pascal, who was excluded from the throne on account of his incapacity.

Charles IV., king of Spain.

Ferdinand, king of the two Sicilies.

Gabriel, Pedro, Antonio, and Francis Xavier, all died before their father. Maria Louisa married the emperor Leopold: the rest died unmarried.



Costume—Madrid.

The internal state of Spain was certainly considerably improved during the reigns of the last two monarchs. The complete tranquillity maintained by Ferdinand VI. had been extremely favourable to agriculture and commerce, and the

introduction of various manufactures had been highly beneficial. The streets of the capital were cleansed and lighted, the beggars were housed, classed and distributed in the sixty-four wards of Madrid, so as that each should maintain its own poor. Schools for the lower classes were established, and Ferdinand VI.'s queen, donna Barbara, instituted a superior school for the young women of rank. The widows and orphans of officers were now first provided for, and female orphans were employed in different manufactures, such as weaving ribbons, needle-work, embroidery, flower-making, and gold-lace-working.

Measures were taken also for relieving the sick poor artisans and husbandmen at their own houses, and similar improvements were made at Grenada, Barcelona, Toledo, Burgos, Gerona, Salamanca, the Canary Islands, and some other places. A *monte pio* was also established in several towns to furnish employment to the poor.

Many of these important establishments were owing to the publication of the excellent work of Campomanes "on the Education of the People." The archbishop of Toledo, don Francisco de Lorenzano, distinguished himself also in promoting these excellent and enlightened charities; and it is due to the other dignified clergy to say, that with rare exceptions they eagerly followed the example of the primate.

Charles III. by a law, not only forbade the assembly of gipsies, but abolished the very name,

and removed the stigma that was formerly attached to it.

The digging of the canal of Arragon, begun by the emperor Charles V. was resumed in the reign of Charles III. Many others, subordinate to this great work, were added for commerce and for irrigation; and for the latter purpose reservoirs were built in convenient stations. The roads were repaired, and new and commodious causeways constructed, and bridges were built.

The growth and manufacture of silk received due encouragement; the wines and oils were much improved and increased. The dressing of leather, in which the Moors excelled other nations, was now revived, and the ancient art of cutlery renewed. The first botanical garden in Spain was established by Charles III. who spared neither pains nor cost in collecting from the old and new world the vegetable treasures they contain. Several voyages of discovery were made. The able reports of don Juan de Ulloa and don Jorge Juan in the preceding reigns had drawn the attention of the Spanish cabinet to America, and intelligent persons were despatched to examine the country, whose reports, had they not been suppressed by the jealousy that still prevailed on the subject of the colonies, would have given a true notion of the state and circumstances of the western world, and have probably obviated much of the evil, and augmented every good, that has arisen in the course of their momentous revolution.

For the encouragement of the arts and sciences, Charles bestowed hereditary nobility on those who cultivated them successfully.

In his reign, for the first time, an exact census of the population was taken, and a survey of the country made, so as to enable the proper ministers to frame a complete geographical dictionary*.

Such were the projects at this period for the improvement of Spain. Some were found impracticable on longer trial; others failed from natural and moral causes; and most have been abandoned, owing to the state of war and revolution that unhappy country still labours under.

* Of this only two volumes were published.



Costume of Leon.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES IV., 1788, TO
THE OCCUPATION OF SPAIN BY THE FRENCH,
1823 *.



Costume—Gallicia.

CHARLES IV. had not long been seated on the throne of Spain when the revolution in France excited the indignation and the fears of every sovereign in Europe.

* This chapter pretends to be nothing more than a chronological list of the events of the reigns of Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII.

The king of Spain joined the general confederacy against the new republic, and, in 1794, the French army carried the war into Spain itself. In the western Pyrenees, Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's surrendered; in the East, after two great battles, great part of Navarre was occupied by the republicans; Rosas was taken, Catalonia lay at their mercy, and the most that the Spanish troops attempted was to stand on the defensive. The next year's campaign was not more successful; and Charles was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with France, which was signed at Basil, on the 22d July, 1795, and by which France restored her recent conquests to Spain, and received in exchange the Spanish part of St. Domingo.

The peace with France was naturally followed by a war with England. The first event of consequence that occurred was the sea-fight off Cape St. Vincent's, in 1797, when a Spanish fleet, of twenty-seven sail of the line, being met by sir John Jervis (afterwards lord St. Vincent's), with only fifteen sail, was beaten, four of the ships taken, and it was with difficulty the admiral himself escaped.

The superiority of England by sea prevented any farther naval effort of consequence at this time on the part of Spain; but men and money were extorted by France, while the Spanish commerce was almost destroyed by the English cruizers.

1803. In 1803 Spain was one of the parties to the short peace of Amiens.

1804. In 1804 war was declared against England at Madrid; the interval having been employed in restoring the Spanish navy, and augmenting the number of its ships.

1805. The combined French and Spanish fleets were met on the 21st October, 1805, by lord Nelson, who gained over them, at Trafalgar, the most complete victory that has ever been won at sea. He gave, as the sign of battle, the memorable words, "England expects every man to do his duty." He was obeyed; and he himself died in the moment of victory.

After this, the naval power of Spain never recovered. The money that the treasury had been wont to furnish to France by way of subsidy began to fail; for Spain itself was exhausted, and the British cruizers had cut off the American supplies. The emperor Napoleon, therefore, seeing there was no farther advantage in continuing in friendship with the Spanish Bourbons, resolved on appropriating their crown for one of his own family, and the domestic strife that arose between the king and his eldest son was possibly fomented by the emissaries of France, in order to promote the emperor's designs.

Manuel Godoy, like most of the late ministers of Spain, had risen from a very low station to be

the chief director of the affairs of the nation. He owed his elevation entirely to the favour of the queen, whose intimacy with him was such that she was believed to have united with him in an atrocious plot to poison her eldest son, the prince of Asturias, in order to preserve the absolute power which she and her favourite had long exercised jointly, and which they had servilely employed, in obedience to the dictates of France.

The party of the queen, on the other hand, accused the prince of Asturias of having formed a conspiracy to dethrone his father; and the people generally were alarmed by the report, that at least the elder part of the royal family was about to leave Spain, and fix their residence in America. Godoy, the Prince of Peace, was believed to have suggested this design. The populace of Madrid, therefore, assembled and attacked his palace, and though he escaped the first violence of their fury, he was afterwards found concealed in a garret. The disturbances had begun at Aranjuez, and continued both there and in Madrid, notwithstanding two edicts published by the king, in order to quiet them, if possible; until, on the 19th of March, the king took the resolution of resigning his crown in favour of his son Ferdinand, prince of the Asturias.

Ferdinand VII. was accordingly proclaimed, and his first act was to confiscate the effects of Godoy, and appoint the duke del Infantado prime minister

in his stead. Meanwhile, general Murat, the grand duke of Berg, was on his march towards Madrid, and sent envoys to Charles and Ferdinand, to apprise them both that the emperor of the French was on his way to Spain, and to advise them to meet and conciliate him.

Ferdinand immediately set out with general Savary for Bayonne, but the general left him at Vittoria surrounded by French troops, and proceeded himself to take the orders of Napoleon. Charles had at the same time forwarded despatches to Bayonne, disclaiming his proclamation of the 19th of March, and asserting that his abdication was forced, so that a stranger was chosen to decide between the two kings, as to the possession of the crown of Spain. The two monarchs were at length allowed to proceed to Bayonne, and admitted to the presence of their umpire, in whose presence Ferdinand was reproved like an ill behaved school-boy, for usurping his father's crown, and obliged humbly to renounce it in favour of his injured parent.

This was no sooner done than Charles announced that, on the day before, he had resigned the crown of Spain for himself and his descendants, by a solemn deed, to the emperor of the French, on consideration of receiving considerable pensions for himself, and every one of his family.

In a few days, all the members of the Spanish house of Bourbon were prisoners in the hands of

Napoleon, who profited from the effects of his own treachery, and their folly, to bestow the crown on his brother Joseph, and he was received at Bayonne, by a deputation of the grandees, who presented to him a congratulatory address on the occasion.

But the Spaniards in general did not so receive him. The idea of a foreign king imposed on them, while their own was in captivity, roused all the ancient spirit of the people. They rose against the foreigner; and had the grandees partaken of the national feeling, and could a head have been found to direct the efforts of the commons, Spain might have owed her liberation to the exertions of her own children. But that was not the case. The grandees, with few exceptions, adopted the interests of king Joseph, while the people adhered to their allegiance to Ferdinand, and a war ensued of the most deadly nature, between the regular troops who defended the new king, and the people of the country who fought for their national independence, and their hereditary monarch.

The first step taken by the patriots was to assemble the provincial assemblies or juntas. That of Seville took on itself the administration of the government, and proclaimed Ferdinand VII. and ordered all males between the ages of 16 to 45, who had not children, to enroll themselves in the national armies. They next sent deputies to England to solicit assistance, and there the ministers joyfully aided them in their opposition to France.

The French poured fresh forces into Spain every day. Before the end of the year, 100,000 troops under generals Murat, Bessieres, Junot, and Moncey, occupied the country, and though the patriot forces were perhaps superior in number, they were undisciplined, and in want of officers, though Castanos, Blake, and Palafox, performed wonders considering their defective means, for the defence of their country, and the defence of Zaragoza recalled the memory of that of ancient Saguntum. Cadiz was rescued from the French, and the fleet of Napoleon in that harbour captured; the sea-ports of Biscay were occupied; general Moncey was repulsed before Valencia, and Reding, one of the generals of Castanos, defeated Dupont commanding a detachment of the army of Murat.

These successes so alarmed king Joseph Buonaparte, who arrived in the end of July at Madrid, that, not conceiving himself safe, he fled to Burgos, and thence to the frontiers, in less than a month.

A terrible reverse, however, awaited the patriots: more numerous French troops arrived. Blake was defeated by Ney; Castanos was also beaten; and by the end of November, the emperor Napoleon himself had taken the command of the army in Spain, and had fixed his head-quarters at Madrid. Meantime, the English government sent out expeditions to the coasts of Portugal and Spain. On the 16th of January, after marching into the very

heart of Spain, and retreating under the most disastrous circumstances, the gallant sir John Moore gave battle to the French army, which had followed him to Corunna. The victory was won by the English. But the commander, sir John Moore, one of the best officers, and bravest and most enlightened men, belonging to the British service, was killed. He was buried there, and the enemy raised a monument to his worth and valour. His own soldiers had no time to pay him that duty: for victorious as they were, they embarked that night, and Spain was once more left with only her native force to combat the French armies.

But another hero was soon sent to repair their loss. Sir Arthur Wellesley led a British force from Lisbon into Spain: he joined general Cuesta, and at Talavera La Reyna, they met a French army commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, marshals Jourdan and Victor, and general Sebastiani. After a hard fought battle, the English were victorious. The French lost 10,000, but the victors also lost 5000.

In 1810, notwithstanding the loss of the battle of Busaco, where lord Wellington 1810. (formerly sir Arthur Wellesley) was again victorious, the French continued to gain ground in Spain, and the people blaming the junta of government as the cause of their ill fortune, forced them to convene a cortes of the kingdom. This cortes met on the

24th of September at Cadiz, which the English arms had preserved from the French. The sitting lasted for two years, during which a new constitution was framed for Spain, efforts were made to augment her armies, and means were taken to render what is called *guerilla* warfare effective. This warfare was carried on by small parties, which, concealed among rocks or bushes, hung upon the skirts of the French armies, cut off their foraging parties, intercepted their messengers, destroyed their provisions, waylaid their recruits, and caused them to suffer in detail the worst evils that an army in an enemy's country can endure.

1811. In the year 1811, general Graham (afterwards lord Lyndoch) won the victory of Barossa over a French force nearly twice as numerous as his own.

The advantage gained over the common enemy at Fuentes d'Onor obliged him to abandon Almeida to the allies, and the undecisive battle of Albuera, on the 16th of May, had the effect of causing Soult to retreat.

But the French were victorious in Catalonia, and Taragona was taken by storm.

1812. Valencia surrendered to marshal Suchet, in January, 1812, but ten days afterwards lord Wellington's troops took Ciudad Rodrigo; in April they carried Badajos, though at a prodigious expense of blood; and on the 22d of July, mar-

shal Marmont experienced a complete defeat at Salamanca from his lordship, after a long and very able defence. The effect of this battle was, that the French raised the siege of Cadiz, and evacuated some towns in Biscay. Joseph Buonaparte left Madrid, which was for a season occupied by the British troops.

The great and decisive battle of Vittoria was fought in June, 1813, as the French were preparing to retire from Spain, on account of the disasters of Napoleon's Russian campaign, which rendered it necessary to collect all the force possible within France itself. On this occasion 151 pieces of cannon, 415 ammunition waggons, all the baggage, and a very great number of prisoners, were taken by the British, and the loss of killed and wounded was immense. On the 31st of July, general Graham took St. Sebastian, though with a great loss in killed and wounded, and shortly afterwards the army of lord Wellington entered France, and Spain was freed from the invaders.

In the meanwhile, the cortes and the regency had been distracted by party divisions, the members of the regency indeed had been changed several times, and at length was fixed in the persons of the cardinal of Bourbon, nearly related to the royal family, and two naval officers. These three persons, from character and talents, were only the instruments of the cortes. The cortes removed from Cadiz to Madrid in January, 1814, and in

May of the same year Ferdinand VII., so long a prisoner in France, returned to Spain, by a route prescribed by the cortes, and made his public entry into his capital. But that prince, instead of showing any gratitude to the members of the regency, or the cortes, who had, however divided among themselves, defended his crown and maintained his rights, immediately annulled the Spanish constitution, re-established the inquisition which had been put down, restored the Jesuits, and imprisoned the most distinguished of the patriots.

The people had soon cause to regret the return of Ferdinand. A civil war broke out. Not that any attempt was made to injure Ferdinand, but there was a clamour for the charter of the constitution, and for the abolition of the holy office. The first effort made for the attainment of these objects was headed by general Mina, in 1814; but it failed, and he fled: the next was in the following year under general Porlier, who was taken and executed.

Occasional movements in the various provinces took place, but equally without effect; but there was a spirit of disaffection throughout the country, occasioned by the folly and tyranny of the restored government. The best men were exiled, and the very

1820. worst retained in office, when, in 1820, part of the army not having received their pay, and being as ill used as the rest of the nation, joined the popular cause under colonel Quiroga, and the

king, finding it impossible to resist the general feeling of the people, consented to re-establish the constitution promulgated by the cortes in 1812, and took an oath to maintain it.

The cortes met on the 5th July, 1820. Again the Inquisition was abolished. Many church establishments and monasteries were suppressed, and the revenues applied to public uses. They proceeded with wisdom and firmness to reform several abuses, and to frame several excellent regulations. The chiefs Quiroga and Riego, who had conducted this revolution with prudence, and brought it to such a happy conclusion, received public thanks, and the people were filled with hopes that at length Spain might be free and prosperous under a government of law and right.

But even on the occasion of the proclamation of the constitution, some of that party who opposed it incited the soldiers at Cadiz to fire on the people assembled in the public square, and rejoicing at having at length obtained the object of their wishes. Five hundred unarmed men, women, and children, were shot by those ruffians in cold blood. General Freyre, and the governor of Cadiz, Campana, appear to have been the authors of this atrocious and disgraceful outrage. An inquiry as to their delinquency was promised, but no punishment was inflicted.

One great and, it is to be feared, insuperable

objection to the acquisition of real freedom in Spain for many a year to come, is, that the clergy have contrived to make the struggle for freedom appear to be an assault against religion. The cortes had abolished some orders of nuns and friars, had placed such of those as should choose to renounce their vows under the protection of the civil magistrate, and had thrown impediments into the way of making religious vows. The zealots were alarmed; the church was called upon, the pope was appealed to, and those who wished well to liberty, or endeavoured to obtain it, were stigmatised under the name of *Liberales*, as enemies to Christianity and virtue. It is therefore not wonderful that the peasantry, more under the dominion of the priests in Spain than in any other country, were soon wrought on to oppose the cortes and their party, to which the lower populace of the towns had attached itself. The seeds of a civil war were sown, and every day insurrections took place.

1822. In 1822 the French government, under pretence of preventing the people of Catalonia from conveying the plague, which raged in their province, into France, drew a line of troops close to the Spanish frontier for the purpose of supporting the enemies to the cortes, who called themselves friends to *religion* and the *king*.

Secure of the support of France, the Spanish guards rose in arms against the existing govern-

ment in the same year. The congress of Verona resolved to maintain the cause of the king against the constitution. In January, 1823, the king of France announced to the chambers that he had 100,000 troops ready to march into Spain, unless Ferdinand VII. was allowed to give to his people institutions which they cannot hold but from him. The constitutional governors of Spain, of course, resisted this; and the consequence was an invasion of the country by the French, on the 17th of April, 1823, for the avowed purpose of restoring the absolute power of the king, reinstating the monastic orders, and re-establishing the inquisition.



Costume—Asturias.

1788—
1823. While these things were going on in Old Spain, Spanish America was undergoing a momentous change. The colonies were too rich and extensive, in proportion to the mother country, to bear the yoke of absolute government longer. Some attempts were therefore made in the more important settlements in Mexico and Peru very early in the reign of Charles; but they were easily crushed.

When, however, the crown had passed into the hands of Joseph Buonaparte, emissaries from the cortes, who held the government in the name of the legitimate king Ferdinand VII., encouraged the creoles to take up arms to resist the French monarch, and to maintain that of their own king.

The arming of the colonists being once recommended, it was not long before they resolved to free themselves, after the example of British America, from a distant and expensive tyranny. The opening the ports of South America, by admitting foreigners, assisted in destroying the prejudices that might have militated against the claims of freedom.

The Carraccas and Buenos Ayres were the first to rebel against the established authority of old Spain.

On the meeting of the cortes at Cadiz the colonists had naturally wished to send deputies on an equal footing with those of the European provinces. But the cortes unwisely refused to admit their

claims: they rose in arms to defend them. On the restoration of Ferdinand, the same impolitic refusal to admit the colonies to equal rank with the mother country was repeated; they therefore resolved to shake off all submission to the court of Madrid, and in spite of every obstacle, political, moral, and physical, and in spite of the fleets and armies sent from Europe to overawe them, they have gained their great object.

The republics of Mexico, Columbia, Peru, Chile, and the states of La Plata, are separated for ever from Spain. They are still, and, it is to be feared, must long be, in an unsettled state. The creole Spanish Americans were generally uneducated. They had been brought up under an absolute government, and in great moral and intellectual errors. Hence it may be said that the virtuous love of freedom alone had animated them in the long and severe struggle they have undergone; and it is not wonderful, if, under such disadvantages, they have not yet been able to frame such a government as should at once be agreeable to the long-cherished prejudices of the people, and consistent with the more enlightened views of policy which are entertained by their leaders.

But every day of national independence will improve them. They are hourly drawing nearer to the state of regular governments. Their commerce, and, with it, their strength, is daily increasing. Means have been taken to secure the advantages

of education in every state. The inquisition has been finally abolished, and the constant free intercourse with Europe must speedily impart to them all the means which increasing civilization can contribute towards national and individual prosperity.



Carrying the bull from the field.

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